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CULTURAL HISTORY OF KAPISA & GANDHARA

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NILIMA SEN GUPTA

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NILIMA SEN GUPTA

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI
1984

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Foreword

For the history of ancient Indian subcontinent, Kapiśa and Gandhāra were two important geo-political units. These two regions, covering parts of the territories now in eastern Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan, were strategically situated in the Indian borderlands. They were culturally Indian, but at the same time fully exposed to outside influences. Moreover, through them ran one of the most important highways connecting India with the outside world. So, they were destined to play an important role in the history of Indian subcontinent and its borderlands.

Their history in a given period (from A.D. 629-1021) has been reconstructed by Smt. Nilima Sen, the authoress of the present monograph. The period begins with the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who began his journey towards the Indian subcontinent and its border in A.D. 629 and went back to China in A.D. 645. He visited some areas near the Indian borderlands almost immediately prior to the advent of Islam in those parts of the world. The Islam made its political presence fully established in Gandhara in c. A.D. 1021, as indicated by Al-Bīrūṇī.

During all these centuries significant developments took place in the social, economic, religious and cultural history of the regions concerned. There were also remarkable activities in the field of art and architecture.

All these aspects of the history of these regions have been fully and ably discussed by the authoress of the present monograph. She is well versed with the sources, and has admirably marshalled the relevant facts. The monograph is indeed a notworthy contribution to our knowledge of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands.

The authoress has convincingly shown that Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period in question were "veritable meeting grounds of Indian and 'occidental' cultures." The cultural acculturation enriched the mosaic of Indian culture.

Calcutta 25.6.84.

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Preface

The present thesis on "The Regions of Kapiśa and of Gandhāra—A Study in Cultural History (c. A.D. 629-1021)" embodies the result of research undertaken under the supervision of Dr. B.N. Mukherjee during my tenure of the James Prinsep Research Fellowship (1969-73) of the Asiatic Society. The completion of the present thesis could not have been possible without the encouragement, able guidance and valuable suggestions which I received from my teacher Dr. Mukherjee.

I also express my sincere thanks to the Secretary and the Council of the Asiatic Society for favouring me with the above mentioned scholarship, without which it could not have been possible for me to undertake such a study.

I convey my sincere thanks to the Librarian Sri Sibdas Chowdhury and the members of the staff of the Asiatic Society for their understanding and co-operation. Thanks are also due to Mr. Benu Sen for his kind co-operation in supplying me with necessary photographs.

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List of Abbreviations

Abhidhāna	...	Hemacandra, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, ed. by Th. Aufrecht, London, 1861.
AIHC	...	Ancient Indian History and Culture.
Amara	...	*Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam* (*Amarakoṣa*) with commentaries of Kshīra Svamin, ed. H. Dutt Sharma and N.G. Sardesai, Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1949.
Anc. Geo.	...	A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924 (Reprinted, Varanasi, 1963).
Āp. Dh.	...	*Āpastamba Dharma Sutra.*
Arrian	...	*Indica*, Ed. by R. Hercher, Leipzig, 1885, trans. E.T. Chinnock, London.
ASIAR	...	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta, Simla, Delhi.
ASS	...	Anandasrama Samskrit Series, Poona.
Aṣṭhṛ.	...	Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛidayam* with commentary of Aruṇdatta, ed. by Kunte, A. N., Second Revised Edition, Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1891.
A. V.	...	*Atharvaveda.*
Atri	...	*Kātyāyanasmriti*, ed. by N.C. Bandopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1927.
Agni Pur	...	*Agni Purāṇa*, ed. by R. Mitra, *BI.* Calcutta, 1873-79. Eng. trans. by M.N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1901.
Baladhuri	...	*Kitab Futuh al Buldan*, Eng. trans. by P. K. Hitti and F.C. Murgotten, 2 Vols. New York, 1916.
Barthaux	...	Barthaux, *Les Fouilles De Hadda*, Paris, 1930.
BI	...	*Biblothica Indica*, Calcutta.
Bharata	...	*Bharata's Nātya Śāstra.*

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Brah.	...	Brahmana
Briggs.	...	*Tarikh-i-Firishta.* Eng. trans. by J. Briggs. Vol. I-IV, London, 1829.
Br. Saṁ.	...	Varāha Mihira's *Brihat Saṁhitā*, ed. by H. Kern, B I, Calcutta, 1895. Eng. trans. H. Kern, *JRAS*, 1870-75, Pts. 1-5, London, 1870-73. Ed. with Eng. trans. and notes, V. Subrahmanya Sastri, & M.R. Bhat, 3 Vols., Bangalore, 1947.
B.M.C.	...	*Catalogue of coins in the British Museum.*
Bmd	...	*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Pub. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1913.
BORI	...	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
BSS	...	Bombay Sanskrit Series.
Cam. Hist. Sup.	...	*Cambridge History Supplement.*
Cat.	...	Catalogue.
Chavvannes, E.	...	E. Chavvannes, *Documents Sur Les Tou-Kiue* (Turks), Occidentaux, Paris, 1900.
CHS	...	Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu* T'ung-Wen Shu-Chu edition),
CII	...	Sten Konow's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1929.
Col	...	Column.
C.P.	...	Copper-Plate.
Devala	...	*Kātyāna Smriti Sāroddhara*, ed. with reconstructed text, trans, and introduction by P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1933.
Diodorus	...	*The Classical Accounts of India*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar. Calcutta, 1960.
DHNI	...	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, by H.C. Ray, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1931, 1936.
Documents	...	E. Chavannes, *Documents, Sur Les Tou-Kieu* (Turks), Occidentaux, Paris, 1900.
EI	...	*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, Delhi.
E.W.	...	*East and West*, Rome.
Faüsball	...	*Jātakatthavannanā*, ed. by V. Fausball, London, 1877-96.

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Gaut.	...	*Gautama Dharma Śāstra*, ed. by A.F. Stenzler, London, 1875.
GOS	...	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
Göbl	...	R. Göbl, *Documente Zur Geschite Der Iramisthen Hunen und Indien*, Weisbaden, 1967, Band I-IV.
Harsha	...	Bāṇa's *Harsha Charita*, ed. by J. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1892, P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1918.
Halāyudha	...	*Abhidhāna Ratnamālā*, ed. by Th. Aufrecht, London, 1861.
HSS	...	Fan Yeh, *Houhan Shu* (SSu-pu-pie-yao edition).
Hey-chao	...	W. Fuch's translation—Hyaei Ch'ao's Pilegrreise durch, North West Indian Und Zentral Asian, Um 726 *Sitz. Preus. Akad. Wiss.* 1938, Vol. 30.
HIED	...	*History of India as told by its own Historians*, Trans. by H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, London, 1867, 10 Vols. Reprint Allahabad.
I.A.	...	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
I.H.Q.	...	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
I-tsing	...	*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and Malaya Archipelago* by I-tsing, trans. by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1966.
J.A.	...	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JAIH	...	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta.
J.A.O.S.	...	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven (Connecticut),
JASB	...	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
Jāt.	...	*Jātaka* (or Jātakas)
JGIS	...	*Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
JIH	...	*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
JISOA	...	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental*, Art, Calcutta, Bombay.
JNSI	...	*Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay, Varanasi.
JRAS	...	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

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Julien	...	*Memoires Sur les contrees Occidentales.* Trans. of Hiuen Tsang, Paris, 1857-58.
Jl. Up Hist. Soc.	...	*Journal of U.P. Historical Society.*
JUPHS	...	*Journal of U.P. Historical Society.*
Kaśyapa	...	*Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*, ed. by Vaidya Trikamji Acharya & Somnath Sarma, Bombay, 1938.
Kāt.	...	*Kātyāyana Smriti*, ed. with reconstructed text, trans. notes, introduction by P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1933. Ed. by N.C. Bandyopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1927.
Kāutilya	...	*Arthaśāstra with commentary of Śrīmula*, Ed. by Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1921, Eng. trans. by R. Shamasastry, Bangalore, 1915.
KHDS	...	P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, 3 vols., Poona, 1930-46.
Krm.	...	*Kurma.*
Kurma	...	*Kurma Purāna*, ed. N. Mukhopadhyaya, *BI*, Calcutta, 1980.
Kāv.	...	*Kāvya Mīmāṁsā*, ed. by C.D. Dalal and R.A. Sastri, Baroda, 1916.
Life	...	*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, by Shamana Hui Li, ed. by S. Beal, London, 1911.
Mait. Saṁ.	...	*Maitreyānī Saṁhitā.*
Manu	...	*Manu Smriti.*
Manas.	...	*Manosollāsa.*
Mark. Pur.	...	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*
MASI	...	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta and Delhi.
Mbh.	...	*Mahābhārata* (BORI Edition).
Medhātithi on Manu	...	*Manu-Smriti*, ed. with Medhātithi's commentory by J.R. Ghorpure, Bombay, 1920.
MMK	...	*Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa.*
N.C.	...	*Numismatic Chronicle*, London.
Nos.	...	Numbers.

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N.S.	...	New Series.
O.A.	...	*Oriental Art*, London.
Pl.	...	Plates.
Pliny. Nat. Hist.	...	Pliny, *Naturales Historia* Ed. by C. Mayhoff, Leipzig, 1892-1909.
P.M.C.	...	*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914.
Pt.	...	Parts.
R.V.	...	*Rig Veda.*
Rāj.	...	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. by A. Stein, Bombay, 1892.
Rufus	...	Quintus Curtius Rutz, *Historaiae Alexandri Magni*, Eng. trans. in *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, ed. by R.C. Majumdar.
Saṁ.	...	Saṁhitā.
Sachau	...	*Al-biruni's India*, ed. by E.C. Sachau, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1944.
S.B.E.	...	*Sacred Book of the East, Oxford.*
S.B.H.	...	*Sacred Book of the Hindus*, Allahabad.
Sitz. Preus.	...	*Sitzungs Berichte Der Prussichen Axadimaic Der Wirs-enchatten, Berlin*, Vol. XXX (1938).
Strabo	...	Strabo, *Geographica*, Eng. trans. H.C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, London, 1854-57.
Stud. Mid. Ind. Hist.	...	S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapur.
Stud. Geo. of And Med. Ind.	...	D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Geography of Ancient & Medieval India*, Calcutta.
Tabari	...	Abu Jafar Muhammad b. Jarir, *Tarikhu'r Rusalwa'l Muluk*, ed. DC Goeji and others.
Takakusu	...	*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and Malaya Archipelago by I-tsing*, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1966.
Tait. Saṁ.	...	*Taitteriya Saṁhitā.*
T.S.S.	...	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

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Vaij.	...	*Vaijayantī*, ed. by Gustav Oppert, Madras, 1893.
Vāj.	...	*Vājaśenāyi Sāṁhitā.*
Vāś. Dh.	...	*Vaśistha-Dharmaśāstra*, ed. by A.A. Fuhrer, *BSS*, Bombay, 1916.
Vāyu.	...	*Vāyu Purāṇa*, ed. by R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1880-88.
Vis. Pur.	...	*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, trans. into Eng. by H.H. Wilson, London, 1864-70. Eng. trans. by M.V. Dutta, Calcutta, 1814.
Vol.	...	Volume.
Yāj.	...	*Yājñavalkya-smriti*, Eng. trans. by S.C. Basu and S.N. Bhattacharya, Allahabad, 1918, 1913.
Watters.	...	T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I & II, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1961.
Z.D.M.G.	...	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellshaft*, Leipzig and Wisebaden.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

A

The regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in the lorderlands of the Indian sub-continent roughly comprised the modern Begram area in Kohistan and Kafiristan in North-eastern Afghanistan, and the Peshawar district, and sometimes also the region of Taxila, to the east of the Indus and the locality lying between them (See Chapter II). Thus, a part of the regions concerned was situated within the Indian sub-continent, and another part lay beyond it. These territories were exposed to Indian and also Central Asian influences. Some of the important routes connecting the interior of India with outside world, ran through these regions. As if, one of the gateways to India was situated here (See Chapter II). Following these routes different people came to India and settled in its different parts. As such, from the remote past, various races and tribes met and intermingled here and contributed to the growth of the local society, religion and material culture. There is therefore, no gainsaying the apparent importance of these areas in the history of the Indian sub-continent and its borderlands.

B

A landmark in the history of the regions is provided by the date of the advent of Islamic power in the political arena. Al-beruṇī[1] gives the date as A.D. 1021. In A.D. 1021 Shahi Trilochanapāla suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Mahmud and most of his territories came under the Sultan's possession. Al-beruṇi stated that Trilochanapāla's son Bhīmapāla tried to recover his paternal territory, but was killed in A.D. 1026.

The coming of Islam as a political as well as religious force, was apparently bound to affect the socio-religious and economic as well as political life of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. The crescent of Islam did not begin to shine in the sky of Gandhāra and Kapiśa all on a sudden. It was looming large on the horizon for a long time. By A.D. 651, the Sassanid empire of Persia, which included much of Afghanistan

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fell to the rising power of Islam. Islam began to knock at the portal of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

The local situation, immediately prior to the advent of Islam in this part of the world is known from the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang,[2] who visited the areas between circa A.D. 629 and 645 A.D. So the year A.D. 629 may conveniently be taken as the starting point of a study of the cultural history of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during a period, when they were either in contact or had the capacity to make contact with Islam. This condition was changed as indicated above in A.D. 1021. The apparent importance of an attempt at reconstructing the cultural history of the strategically situated areas like Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period concerned can hardly be over estimated. And in depth study of the cultural history will allow us to have a clear idea of the socio-economic and religious situations of two regions lying close to an area under Islamic occupation. Such a study, in fact, is a desideratum for a proper understanding of the development of the composite culture of the Indian subcontinent.[3] We propose to fulfil this end in the following chapters.

C

An attempt at reconstruction of the cultural history may be made on the basis of archaeological and literary data. The Shahi coinage provides us with enough material for preparing a basic frame work for Shahi chronology. But the Shahi inscriptions, most of which are fragmentary in nature, are not of much help in this regard. Nevertheless, these epigraphs as well as coins throw some light on the age and the areas under consideration. A few Arabic and bi-lingual inscriptions furnish information for the political history.

Many of the ruins of the monuments of the regions concerned and datable to the period of our discussion have remained unexplored. Nevertheless, date gathered from such archaeological sites as Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Sahr-i-Bahlol, Und, Taxila, Bilot and Kafirkot, Hadda, Jelalabad, Bamiyan, Khairkhaneh, Chigha Sarai, Gardez, *etc.*, and also detached sculptures found at various places helped us in reconstructing the history of art and architecture of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

Literary evidence can be gathered from three different sources, such as, (1) Chinese, (2) Muslim and (3) Indian texts. The Chinese literature preserved more or less dated accounts of these areas from about A.D. 629 upto the middle of the 9th century A.D. As already mentioned, Hsüan-tsang's itenerary called *Ta T'ang-Hsi-yü-Chi*,[4] gives us a graphic idea about the political, social, economic and religious conditions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in the fourth and fifth decade of the 7th century A.D. *Hsi-yü-Chi's* information is corroborated and sometimes enlarged by another work, *Ta T'ang-tzu-en-ssu-san-ts'and-fashih-chuan* ("Life") written by Shamana Hui-Li, who helped Hsüan-tsang in his translation of Sanskrit books.[5] Another

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book *She-kia-Fang-chi*[6] is based on the information collected by Hsüan-tsang and supplies a few more details. I-T'sing's work *K'iu-fa-ko-Sang-chuan*,[7] furnish a few facts.

Next in importance to *Hsi-yü-chi* is the *T'ang Annals*.[8] This is a mine of information and provides materials for the reconstruction of the political history of the countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra from the beginning of the 7th century upto 9th century A.D.

The itenerary of one Chinese ambassador Ou-K'ong throws light on the history of these parts on its various aspects between A.D. 750-790.[9] The work of Hye-chao,[10] a Korean pilgrim, makes a few more details about the zone and the period concerned available to us. The Chinese source, on the whole, supplies a connected and dated information about the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period concerned.

The Arab historians and geographers recorded the Muslim invasion and occupation of these areas step by step. Of the early geographers, mention may be made of Śulaiman (231 A.H.=A.D. 851),[11] Abu Zaidul Hasan of Siraf (303 A.H.=A.D. 916),[12] Ibn Khurdhad Beh (300 A.H.=A.D. 912),[13] Masudi (300 A.H.-345 A.H.= A.D. 942-956),[14] Istakhari (340 A.H.=A.D. 951),[15] Ibn Haukal (331 A.H.=A.D. 943)[16] and others who refer to these territories and their routes, cities, people *etc.* *Hudud-Al-Alam*, a geographical work of 10th century throws illuminating light on the geography,[17] trade routes, important centres of commerce, articles of trade, cities and trading community *etc.*, of the territories of Kapiśa and Gandhāra of the period under review.

Among the Muslim historians, Abbas Ahmad Al Baladhuri[18] was the foremost person to record the early days of Arab Caliphate. His book *Kitab-Futuh Al Buldan* narrates the early conquest of Islam over many parts of the world including Seistan, Zabulistan, Khorasan and the regions under consideration. Next in importance is *Akhbar Makka*,[19] written by Abu-al-Walid Muhammad be Abd--Allah b Ahmad al Azaraqi at about the middle of the 9th century. The *Akhbar Makka* bears direct evidence to the Arab conquest of Kapiśa and Gandhāra at about A.D. 815/16.

Famous scholar Abu-Rihan Al-beruṇi in his *Tahqiq-i-Hind*[20] gives valuable information about kings of the area under review. It is Al-beruṇi who refers to them as Shahiya. He traced their origin to Kanishka and called his descendants Turki Shahiyas. Turki Shahiyas were supplanted by Hindu Sahiyas at a later date. Al-beruṇi mentions not only the genealogical list of the Shahiyas, but also records their struggle with the Muhammadans and their destruction in the end. Incidentally he refers to the Shahiya court its geographical position, patronage of learning *etc.*, and praises Hindu Shahiyas for their large heartedness and bravery.

Different stages in the destruction of the Shahi empire are also noticed by historians of Sabuktigin and Sutlan Mahmud' s court. Mention may be made of

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Utbi,[21] Baihaki,[22] Aufi,[23] Girdizi[24] among them. Later historians like Firishta,[25] Rashid ud-din[26] also recorded the struggle between the Shahiyas and the Muslims.

Scattered pieces of information on various aspects of life in these regions during the period concerned are available from the following Sanskrit treatises: Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsha-charita*,[27] anonymous author's *Āryamañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*,[28] a 7th century work, *Kuvalaya mālā*,[29] a Jaina work, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā*,[30] Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga hridaya*,[31] Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*,[32] *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā*,[33] Yādava Prakaśa's *Vaijayantī*,[34] *etc.* Kalhana[35] is the only Indian author who describes the history of the Shahis in some detail in connection with writing the history of Kaśmīra.

D

The data, thus collected will be used critically and judiciously for reconstructing the past. As history of a region cannot be understood without the knowledge of its geography, our study must be preceded by a discussion on historical geography of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

Again, since the significance of cultural history can not be properly understood without refering to the contemporary political conditions, we must draw an outline of the political history of Kapiśa before reconstructing the cultural history of the period under review.

As a cultural history of a region is primarily concerned with society, our study proper should begin with an attempt to determine the social condition of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period concerned. We should next study the economic condition of the people. This will be followed by an examination of the data relating to religious conditions of Gandhāra and Kapiśa.

Art, which is the handmaid of religion, should also form a subject of our study. In concluding section we shall try to summarize the main features of the cultural history and shall try to determine the impact of Islam on the spiritual and material culture of Gandhāra and Kapiśa in a period immediately prior to the end of the dominance of the rulers professing Brahmanical faith.

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CHAPTER II

Geographical Background

A

The Zone under consideration includes the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and the intervening area between these two states which formed one kingdom in the 7th century A.D.

The country of Kapiśa has been celebrated in the foreign accounts.[1] Indian literature preserves a few direct references to the land of Kapiśa.[2] References to Kapiśa in its adjectival form Kāpiśāyana has been found for the first time in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[3]

In the *Kiskindhyā kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kapiśa is mentioned along with Takshaśīlā (Taxila), Sākala (Sialkot in Punjab), Pushkarāvatī (Charsadda), Araṭṭa (Punjab), and Bālhi (Bactria).[4] From the description of panchañada, Kaśmīra, Gandhāra and the above-mentioned countries in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] one after another, it appears that the author here describes countries and towns of north-western India.

In the *Ārya-mañ juśrī-Mūlakalpa*, Kapiśa is associated with Vakhala (*i.e.*, Bactria) and Udyāna (*i.e.*, Swat) and Kaśmīra.[6] Sometimes this state is also mentioned with Kaśmīra, Chīna and Nepāla as the countries of the north in it.[7] Mention of Kapiśa once with Bactria. Swat and Kaśmīra[8] and again with Kaśmīra, Chīna and Nepāla,[9] in the above mentioned texts may indicate its topographical position on the northern frontier of India, near about these countries, mentioned above.

Besides, another characteristic feature of Kapiśa also points to this fact. This state has been always associated with yakshas, piśāchas, gāndharvas, nāgas, *etc.*, in the earlier as well as later Brahmanical and Buddhist literature.[10] Yakshas, gāndharvas, and kinnaras are depicted as demi-gods[11] in the Indian literature, while dānavas, daityas, piśāchas, nāgas[12] *etc.*, represents the demons. But their continual presence noticed in different treatises describing the northern frontier of India

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throughout the ancient period, indicates that all these might have been inhabitants of frontier countries known for their particular customs and manners which differentiated them from the people of North India proper.

Foreign accounts more explicitly describes the topographical position of Kapiśa. Among foreign author's, Pliny was the first to refer "to the districts of Capisene and its capital Capisa, which was destroyed by Cyrus" the emperor of Persia.[13] "Solinus calls it Caphusa (altered by the Delphine editors to Capissa)"[14] The geographer Ptolemy places the city of Kapiśa among the country of Paropamisedae *i.e.*, Hindukush region.[15]

The country has been referred to as Ka-pi-shih in the *Su-kao-seng-chuan*, *Kai-yuan-lu*, *Hsi-yü-chi*, and *Ta-Tang-tzu-en-ssu-san-ts' and-fa-shih-chuan* and *She-kia-Fang-chi*.[16] I'tsing, who visited India in the end of the 7th century (A.D. 671-695), refers to Kapiśa in his itinerary entitled *Nan-Hae-ki;kwii-Niu-Fa-Chuan* (*Nun. Cat.* 1492).[17] According to him Kapiśa maintained a temple named after the place of its origin in Nalanda at that time for its Brethren.[18] Moreover, in his *Kau-fa-sang-Chuan* (*Account of Fifty Six Priests or Buddhist converts who visited India during the later half of the 7th century*), he records the gradual abandonment of the Kapiśa-China road due to the disturbances caused by the Arabs.[19] A late *Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon* refers to it, the form being Karpisaya or Kapiśaya (Ka-pi-she-ye).[20]

Another name in Chinese, which shall be considered in connection with our study of the topographical position of Kia-pi-shih is Chi-pin.

According to *Ch'ien-Han-shu*, Chi-pin was bordered on the north-west by Ta-yueh-chi kingdom including Ta-hsia[21] and on the south-west by Wu-yi-shan-li[21a] and separate from Kao-fu.[21b] It appears from the same treatise that Chi-pin could be reached by a person travelling from the direction of China by crossing Hsien-tu.[22]

M.A. Stein demonstrated that Hsien-tu was situated along the Indus from below Darel to Mirabat "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat."[23] In Southern parts of Ta-hsia were Chitral and probably Kafiristan. Wu-yi-shan-li may be located in the Seistan area.[24] Kao-fu was included within Kabul region.[25]

These identifications suggest that Chi-pin of *Ch'ien-Han-shu* included ancient Suvāstu (Swat) and at least parts of Gandhāra and Arachoshia. "The name Chi-pin, archaic Kiad-pin, ancient Kiai-pien and middle Chinese Kiei-pyin [*Ka(t)s-pin (*Len), seems to have been based on the word *Kaspir, which can be related to Kaśmīr (a) through the intermediary form *Kasvir(a):"[26]

This suggest the inclusion of at least a part of ancient Kaśmīra in Chi-pin. The incorporation of these different regions into one unit indicates that Chi-pin of the *Chien-Han-shu* denoted the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country

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which could be reached through Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India.

The same can be said about Chi-pin of the *Hou-Han-Shu*, which states in the 118th chapter that it could be reached by crossing Hsien-tu, and also indicates that a road extended through Chi-pin to Wu-yi-shan-li.[27] "In the Chinese translation of the *Divyāvadāna* Chi-pin means the charming Kaśmīra city."[28]

The *Tang-shu*, records that "the country of Zabulistan and Bamian is bordered on the east by Ki-pin."[29] That means Bamian and Zabulistan forms the north-western and south-western frontiers of Chi-pin. It is interesting to note that this description of Chi-pin's boundary corresponds to that of the *Chiien-Han-Shu* and also with Hsüan-tsang's Kapiśa. Perhaps for this reason, the Chinese of the T'ang period probably had no idea of the location of Chi-pin of earlier sources. It appears that some of the Chinese texts located Chi-pin in Kapiśa.

Early Muslim geographers (9th-10th century) does not mention it by name, but includes this state within "Khorasan" and "Khorasan and Its Marches.[30] They refers to its mountain ranges, rivers, climate and different cities *etc.*[31] The famous scholar Al-beruṇi specificlly records the name of this territory as Kayabish or Kapiśa.[32] He also notices its climate, mountains, river system, trade routes, and trading marts. *etc.*[33]

The name Kapiśi is equally referred to in a bilingual coin of Eukratides (2nd century B.C.), which represents the city deity of Kāpiśi ('Kaviseye nagara-devata'.)[34] The said coin is found in large numbers in the ruins of Begram in Kohistan.[35] The satrap of Kapiśa is also mentioned in the Manikiyala Bronze casket inscription (1st century B.C. or 2nd century A.D.)[36] The excavation of the Begram, carried on by the French Archaeological Delegation under the supervision of M. Hakin, discovers the ruins of the city of Kāpiśi, the capital of this area during the Kushana period.[37]

Thus from the collected evidence, we can at least presume that the names Kapiśa and Kāpiśi are well-known to the indigeous and foreign literary sources throughout the period concerned (although, this country may be designated by some other name by the Chinese). The word Kapiśi is used to denote both a city and a country. Indigenous literature sometimes locates Kapiśa within Northern India, near Bactria, Swat and Kaśmīra. Foreign accounts, more specifically places the city in the country of Paropamisedae or Hindukush region. The joint testimony of literary and archaeological data assigns Kapiśa to the south of Hindukush, which included Begram in Kohistan and is stretched upto the border of Zabulistan.

The exact territorial limits of Kapiśa may be determined with the help of the evidence supplied by Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi-yü-chi*, '*Life*', and *Shi-kia-Fang-Chi*.[38] In the first half of the 7th century Hsüan-tsang visited Kapiśa (Ka-pi-shih) both on his

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journey to India and back.[39] The pilgrim reached this country after travelling 600 li to the south-east from the "Monastery with Sacred Relics," in the Fan-yen-no (*i.e.* Bemian), through the defiles of snowy mountains and over the black ridges.[40] According to him, "this country was above 4000 li in circuit (or 666 miles) with the snow mountains on its north and having black ridges on its three other sides."[41]

In the account of his return journey, the pilgrim calls a part of this snowy mountains as Po-lo-si-na.[42] Cunningham identifies it with mount Paresh or Aparasin of the *Zend Avesta* and the Paropamisus of the Greeks which includes Indian Caucasus or Hindukush.[43] Again, Cunningham identifies black ridges with Koh-i-Baba, Paghman and Siya-koh-ranges in Afghanistan.[44] Thus it appears from the above account that the land of Kapiśa is surrounded on all sides by Hindukush and its spurs.

Moreover, we know from the Chinese pilgrim's description that Fan-yen-na is situated to the north of Kapiśa,[45] Tsao-ku-t'a to the south-west[46] and Fu-ei-shisa-t'ang-na[47] and Lan-po forms its western and eastern borders respectively.[48] Fan-yen-na has been identified with Bamian,[49] and Fu-li-shisa-t'ang-na with Kabul,[50] Tsao-ku-ta with Ghazni[51] area and Lan-po with modern Lamghan.[52]

The extent of the country, thus situated, comprised according to Lassen[53] the Ghorband valley and according to R.G. Bhandarkar North Afghanistan.[54] Jullien proposed Panjshir and Tagao valleys in north border of Kohistan.[55] Cunningham, however, on the basis of the measurement of the country 666 miles (4000 li), referred to above, rightly observed that Kapiśa included the whole of Kafiristan together with valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir.[56]

Hsüan-tsang did not include Kapiśa within the geographical limits of India.[57] As already stated above, Indian sources on the other hand, sometimes places this tract of land within North India and sometimes beyond it with Nepāla, China, *etc.*[58] Early Arabic and Persian geographers name all the country as Hind,[59] which lies to the east of the river Helmund and extends upto Khorasan, thus comprising Ghazni, Kandahar, Kabul, Kapiśa in the north-western region together with the rest of India excluding Sind. Anonymous author of the *Hudud Al Alam* includes this country with Khorasan and Its Marches.[60] Al-beruṇi, in course of his description of the rivers of India, mentions Kayabish and its river system.[61] As such, it must be admitted that as a frontier kingdom, Kapiśa was equally open to the cultural influences of India and central Asia from a very early time.

During Hsüan-tsang's time Kapiśa was a very powerful state being ruled over by a Kshatriya king.[62] The Chinese pilgrim mention ten of the neighbouring states including Lan-po, Nagara and Gandhāra, Varaṇa as dependencies of Kapiśa.[63] Tsao-ku-t'a is possibly another dependency of Kapiśa.

According to Hsüan-tsang's already stated testimony, Kapiśa's eastern frontier

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is formed by Lan-po, which lies 600 li or 100 miles east of Kapiśa.[64] The district is described by Hsüan-tsang as being 1000 li or 166 miles in circuit with snowy mountains on the north and black hills on three other sides.[65] The Chinese pilgrim describes the road to Lan-po from Kapiśa as a succession of hills and valleys, some of the hill being of great height.[66]

Lan-po, Lambatae of Ptolemy,[67] has been referred to again and again in the Indian literature as Lampāka,[68] Limpāka,[69] Lampaka.[70] Indigenous sources assign this country to the north-west division of India, in the neighbourhood of Gandhāra.[71] The Chinese pilgrim clearly states that North India begins from the country of Lan-po.[72] Muslim historians belonging to the later part of the period concerned, refer to Lamghan as a part of Hind.[73] According to Cunningham, Hsüan-tsang's account of the route agrees with all the description of the route along the north bank of the Kabul river, so far provided by the 19th century travellers.[74] In his opinion, modern Lamghan or Laghman corresponds exactly to Hsüan-tsang's Lan-po, which is a small tract of land being 1000 li or 166 miles in circuit, lying along the north bank of the Kabul river, bounded on the west and east by Alingar and Kunar rivers and on the north by snowy mountains.[75] This small tract is very nearly a square of 40 miles on each side or 160 miles in circuit.[76] Lan-po, is one of the subordinate states of Kapiśa in the 7th century A.D.[77]

From Lan-po, proceeding to the south-east above 100 li (17 or 20 miles)[78] and after crossing a large river and a high mountain, the Chinese pilgrim reached Na-kie-lo-ho country.[79] Both the bearing and the distance point to Nagara of Ptolemy.[80] Ptolemy places Nagara on the south of the Kabul river in the immediate vicinity of Jelalabad.[81]

The kingdom of Na-kie-lo-ho is variously referred to in the Chinese literature.[82] "The Na-kie-lo-ho of Hsüan-tsang is evidently the Na-kie (Ka) of Fa-hsien who uses the name for the city and the country."[83] One *Vinaya* treatise, translated in A.D. 378, calls it Na-kie (Ka).[84] It is also Na-ka-lo-ha of Sung yun's narrative in the "*Ka-lan-chi*".[85] The full transcript of the Sanskrit name has been found by Julien in the *Annals of the Song dynasty*.[86]

The Sanskrit name Nagarahāra occurs in the Ghoshrāwā inscription.[87] The place is mentioned in a *10th century work* as Ninhar.[88] The tract is known in modern times by the name Nungnehar.[89]

As already stated above, Na-kie-lo-ho or Nagarahāra has been located by Cunningham in the vicinity of Jelalabad.[90] "The country is said to be 600 li or 100 miles from east to west and 250 li or 42 miles from north to south.[91] The natural boundaries of the district being the Jagdalak Pass on the west, the Khybar Pass on the east, with the Kabul river to the north and Safed Koh mountains to the south, well suits the measurement given by the Chinese pilgrim."[92]

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Masson noted that "the whole area from Balabagh to Darunta which corresponded to Nagarahāra of Hsüan-tsang (as already stated), was littered with ruins of topes, tumulis, and caves and a city of considerable extent called Begram."[93] As mentioned above the country of Nagarahāra was ruled by the king of Kapiśa during the period of Hsüan-tsang's visit.[94]

Next to Na-kie(ka) lo-ho, the Chinese pilgrim describes Kien-t'o-lo, *i.e.*, Gandhāra.[95] This country is situated about 500 li south-east of Hilo, a city of Na-kie-lo-ha.[96] Gandhāra has been celebrated in the Indian literature from the time of the *Rigveda*.[97] The *Rigveda* alludes to Gāndhārī,[98] an ancient tribe, settled on the extreme north-western border of undivided India. Gandhāra is more frequently referred to in the literature of the later period.[99] The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* includes Gandhāra and Kāmboja within sixteen Mahājanapadas of India.[100] One *Jātaka* story even includes Kaśmīra within Gandhāra.[101]

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, more explicitly states the position and extent of Gandhāra.[102] The *Rāmāyaṇa* places Gandhāra on both banks of the Indus with its two royal cities Pushkalāvatī for the west and Takshaśīlā for the east.[103]

Varāhāmihira, however, on the authority of Parāśara, says that Takshaśīlā and Pushkalāvatī are separate constituent region of north-west India along with Gandhāra, Yaśovatī and Himatala.[104] References to Gandhāra, a region round Indus, occur in the literature of the later period.[105] *Purāṇas* datable to our period, refer to Gandhāra as a country of north India.[106] Rājaśekhara notices this country but not as a part of Indian territory.[107] The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* possibly refers to this country under the name Sakhi[108] (Turushka), *i.e.*, Shahis who were Turks. It is possible for this reason, Rājaśekhara does not include Gandhāra within India. But reference is made to Gandhāra (or Dihaṇḍa) in the *Vaijayantī* of Yādava Prakāśa, as the country of Udīchya (north-west) division.[109]

On the whole, Indian literature represents Gandhāra as a country of the northern or north-west India, situating on both banks of the Indus.

Gandhāra is equally well-known to the foreigners from the time of Alexander. Alexander's historians did not mention this area by name.[110] But Arrian referred to tribes of Astakenoi and Assakenoi who lived along the lower section of the Kophes, *i.e.*, Kabul river.[111] This may indicate the people settled in this region.

According to Strabo, Gandharities lay along the river Kophes, between the Khoaspes and the Indus.[112] Ptolemy places Gandhāra between Suastos (Swat) and the Indus including both banks of Koa immediately above its junction with the Indus.[113]

Muslim chronologists refer to it as Kandahar or al-Kandahar *i.e.*, Gandhāra and locates it on both banks of the Indus.[114]

Thus, there appears to be a difference of opinion between indigeneous sources

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and classical historians, so far, as to the extent of Gandhāra is concerned. They have, no doubt, used the term to denote both the people and the territory which lies on both sides of the Kabul river upto its junction with the Indus. Whereas, Indian and Muslim sources unanimously locates it on both banks of the Indus, Greek and Roman classical historians place it on the west of that river.

Indian and foreign epigraphs make mention of Gandhāra as a country and a people as early as the time of Darius.[115] Gandhāra janapada is associated with Yonas and Kāmbojas in the Rock Edict V and XII of Aśoka.[116] The name of this territory appears in the inscription of the later period as well.[117] The data supplied by these epigraphs, corroborates the evidence already collected from different sources.

Hsüan-tsang is the only author among the Chinese, who describes exactly Gandhāra's topographical situation, extent, boundary *etc.*[118] He places Gandhāra 500 li to the east of Hilo, a town of Nagara, as already stated above.[119] In his opinion, Gandhāra's eastern border touches the Indus river.[120] Uddyāna (Swat) and Fa-la-na forms its northern and southern border respectively.[121] "Gandhāra is 1000 li or 166 miles from east to west and 800 li or 133 miles from north to south."[122] Cunningham identifies Gandhāra with that part of land in north-western India, which lay between Jalalabad on the west and Indus on the east and hills of Swat and Buner and Kalabagh on the north and the south respectively,[123] *i.e.*, the districts of Peshawar, Und, Charsada and Rawalpindi. Gandhāra has been one of the subject state of Kapiśa during the period of Hsüan-tsang's visit as mentioned above.[124] Ta-cha-si-lo *i.e.* Taxila, stated to be the eastern capital of Gandhāra was under the rule of kings of Kaśmīr during the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit.[124a]

The Chinese pilgrim visited Fa-la-na, another dependency of Kapiśa on his return journey.[125] The word Fa-la-na has been rendered into Sanskrit varaṇa and Varaṇa[126] is about 666 miles (4000 li), in area.[127] This tract of land has been placed to the south-east of Tsao-ku-t'a (Ghazni) by Hsüan-tsang.[128] This state has been rightly identified with Banu, comprising the whole of the two large valleys of Kurrum and Gomal rivers[129] against the suggestion of St. Martin who preferred to identify the said region with Vanih.[130] "According to M.A. Stein, the Varaṇa of Hsüan-tsang represents the ancient Varaṇu, modern Buner between the rivers Swat and the Indus.[131] But Stein's suggestion proves incorrect in the view of geographical situation of Varaṇa and Varaṇu as explained by S. Levi."[132]

Among the subject state of Kapiśa, we may include the name of Tsao-ku-t'a, as the visit of the king of Kapiśa to Tsao-ku-t'a indicated. This state has been identified with Ghazni region as referred to above.[133] Watters more correctly identifies the capital with the old city of Zabul.[134]

Thus, the regions under consideration, extends from Kapiśa Begram in Kohistan in the north to a south-south-eastern direction upto Peshawar including territories of

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Kafiristan, Lamghan, Jelalabad, Charsada, Und, Peshawar, Banu and Ghazni region respectively.

B

Thus, the Indian, Chinese, and Muslim sources not only describe in detail the topographical situation of all these countries, but also supply information about their mountain ranges, river system, routes, trading centres and cities as well.

Information about the physical features of the regions concerned may be gleaned from Hsüan-tsang's description and Indian and Muslim sources,[135] According to Hsüan-tsang, snowy mountains and black ranges encircle Kapiśa on all sides.[136] The Chinese pilgrim further locates Po-li-si-na in the snowy mountains.[137] Another part of the snowy mountain with a lake on its summit is also referred to by Hsüan-tsang.[138] Cunningham takes Po-li-si-na to be identical with Paropamisus, Paresh or Aparasin of the *Zend Avesta*[139] and identifies Paropamisus and the snowy mountain with Hindukush,[140] as stated earlier. The black ranges *i.e.*, the mountains not covered by perpetual snow, has been identified by Cunningham, with Koh-i-Baba, and Paghman and Siya-koh ranges.[141]

Hsüan-tsang locates two other hills A-lu-na[142] and Pi-lo-sho-lo[143] in Kapiśa. According to Cunningham, modern Ranighat hill represents the A-lu-na or Aruna mountain of Hsüan-tsang.[144] However, at present, the proper location of this mountain is not possible. Pi-lo-sho-lo, another hill located in Kapiśa, is named after the presiding genius of the hill who had the form of an elephant.[145] Julien restors the word as Pilusāra.[146] The situation of the hill is recorded to the south-west of the capital of Kapiśa.[147] At present, Pilusāra remains unidentified.

As stated before, Lan-po, situated on the eastern border of Kapiśa, have snow covered hills on the north and black ranges on three other sides.[148] As stated above, the Chinese pilgrim further notices that the route to Lan-po lies through very mountaineous region.[149] The *She-kia-Fang-chi* adds that Lan-po's northern frontier reaches Tukharistan.[150] Therefore, this snowy mountain may be a part of Hindukush and the black ranges represents some of its branches.

Na-kie-lo-ha (Nagara) is also surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, steep and difficult of passage.[151] These ranges may be identified with the eastern and western hills on which stood Jagdalak and Khybar Pass and Safed Koh mountain to the south.[152]

Two hill range has been located in Gandhāra.[153] One of them is situated near Po-lu-sha, *i.e.*, the hill of Dantaloka with a cave in which Prince Sudāna and his wife has taken refuge.[153a] This mountain has been identified with the Kashmiri Ghar hill, to the east-north-east of Paloḍheri.[154] The second hill has been identified with Karam ar hill by Foucher.[155]

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Hsüan-tsang states that Varaṇa is full of hills and forests.[156] This description agrees well with the upper part of Kurram valley which is a very hilly region. Tsao-ku-t'a posses high mountain ranges.[157]

So we find that Hsüan-tsang's description of these countries fully supports the notion expressed by the indigenous literary sources.

At least, one Muslim geographer describes this mountainous region.[158] Although, three appears to be some mistakes in the *Hudud-Al-Alam*, its greater detail indicates author's intimate knowledge of these areas.[159] According to him, "when this mountain after having turned aside from the province of Balkh reaches the frontier of Madr belonging to Tukharistan, so many small and large branches spread out of it in those districts that God only knows their number. And from each of its branches many other spurs shoot off which spread in the region of Tukharistan, Andarab, Panjhir, Jariyana, Bamian, Bust, Rukhad, Zamindavar and Ghaznin and further stretch down to the limits of Sind."[160]

Therefore, it appears from the above account that the Kapiśa and Gandhāra for the most part belong to a hilly region, and only a small portion of them forms the valleys of Peshawar and Banu. But the mountain ranges of Kapiśa and Tsao-ku-t'a are of greater height than that of Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra, Varaṇa, and the physical features of these countries vary accordingly.

C

The climatic condition of different parts of Kapiśa and Tsao-ku-t'a (Ghazni) are equally dependent on their respective physical features. Kapiśa has a very cold windy weather.[161] Tsau-ku-t'a has equally cold climate with much front and snow.[162] Lan-po and Nagara belongs to a milder zone with little frost and no snow.[163] The weather of Gandhāra is warm with scarcely any frost or snow.[164] Al-beruṇi also takes note of this fact.[165] He refers to Gandhāra which belongs to a warm climate and experiences tropical rains in summer for four months, beginning from Śrāvaṇa, and spring rain for a few days[166] for the colder zone. "At present, parts of Punjab have a rainfall of about 15-25 inches and the mountaineous regions of the north-west also records the same. The valleys of Peshawar, Kohat and Banu record about 10-15 inches of rainfall."[167]

"The North-western regions show a climate tending to extremes of temperature and they are dry in general. The higher region of Kabul faces very cold winters and hot summers, snow-falls in January and February, followed by rains in March and April."[168]

D

Indian, Chinese, and Muslim writers on geography record the river system of the regions of our study.[169] Indian sources mention a few rivers belonging to the

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zone under consideration, such as Kubhā,[170] Suvāstu,[171] Sindhu,[172] Krumu,[173] and Gomatī.[174] Vedic Kubhā, medieval Kuhu, Koa or Kophes of the Greeks, or the Kabul river is the most important among them.[175] The Suvāstu *i.e.*, Swat is the eastern-most tributary of the Kabul river.[176] The Krumu is the modern Kurram river[177] and the Gomatī is modern Gomal[178] and the Sindhu is the Sind river.[179]

The Chinese pilgrim, speaks of five 'large' rivers in connection with his description of Kapiśa and its dependencies.[180] He locates a large river to the north-west of the capital of Kapiśa.[181] Kapiśa's capital has been identified with Begram in Kohistan[182] and therefore, this river may be identified with the Panjshir, another tributary of the Kabul river, which flows to the north of Begram.

The next large river is situated to the south of Lan-po.[183] Hsüan-tsang crossed this river on his way to Nagara.[184] This is no other than the Kabul river itself, on whose southern bank lies ancient Nagarahāra identified with the ruins near Jelalabad,[185] as stated before. Reference to third great river is made in connection with pilgrim's journey to Po-shi-ku-lo-fa-ti (Pushkarāvatī)[186] from Purushapura (which is modern Peshawar). This 'great river's is undoubtedly the Kabul river itself. Peshawar lies to the southern bank of this stream.[187] Again, he refers to Su-p'o-fa-su-tu[188] and Sin-tu.[189] Su-p'o-fa-su-tu, which runs through wu-chang-na country, has been identified with the Swat river.[190] As mentioned earlier, the Sin or Sin-tu forms the eastern boundary of Gandhāra.[191] The town of Wu-to-ka-han-cha stands on its bank.[192] Modern Und represents Wu-to-ka-han-cha or Udabhāṇḍapura[193] and Sin-tu is obviously the modern Sind.[194]

At Masudi refers to three rivers in the country of Kandhahara, *i.e.*, Gandhāra, which is also known by the name of country of the Rajputs.[195] Of these the first is 'Raid.'[196] It comes from the country of Gandhāra and is one of the rivers which forms the 'Mihran' of Sind.[197] 'Mihran' of Sind is the designation by which the modern Sind is known to the early Muslim geographers and historians.[198] The 'Raid' may be identified with this river.

The Bahatil is another such stream,[199] It issues from the mountains of Sind and flows through the country of Gandhāra.[200] It is not possible to identify this stream at present. The description of the source of the third river near Kabul by Masudi leads[201] us to take this stream to be identical with the Kabul river.

Other Mahommadan geographers call the Kabul river the river of Lamghan.[202] Al-beruṇi for the first time describes the river system of this area more correctly than any other Muslim annalists.[203]

According to Al-beruṇi "in the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kayabish *i.e.*, Kapiś, rises a river which is called Ghorawand, on account of its many tributaries, such as :

1. the river of the pass of Ghuzak,

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2. the river of the gorge of Panchir, below the town of Parwan,

3 & 4. the river Sharvat and the river Sarwa of which later flows through the town of Lanbaga, *i.e.* Lamghan; and joins the Ghorowand at the frontress of Druta, and

5 & 6. the Nur and the Kira.

Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorowand is a great river opposite the town of Parshavar, being there called the ford, from a ford near the village of Mahanara on the eastern banks of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh near the castle of Bitur, below the capital of al Kandahar (Gandhara) *i.e.* Vaihand."[204]

Al-beruṇi's description of this river system closely tallies with modern account of the Kabul river. But he makes a mistake in placing the source of the Kabul river at the mountains bordering Kayabish *i.e.*, the Hindukush, and equating it with the Ghorowand, *i.e.*, the Ghorband river, which joins the Panjshir below Parwan, modern Parvan. The united stream of Ghorband and Panjshir joins the Kabul river on its north. Although he makes an error, in this regard, but his description of the whole course of the Kabul shows his close acquitance with the zone under consideration. The Panchir is the modern Panjshir which joins the Ghorband below Parvan as stated above. The Sharvat and the Sarwa which flow through Lamghan may be identified with the united stream of Alingar and Alisang. The 'Nur and the Kira' may be represented by the Kunar and Swat, two of the Kabul's north-eastern tributaries. The Sindh is the Sind river. The Kabul river is united with Sind near Attock.

On the whole, from the above account we can at least conclude that the Vedic Kubhā, Kuhu, Kophes, 'river of Lamghan' or the Ghorowand of Al-beruṇi or the Kabul is the river per excellence of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

"The Kabul river rises from a peak to the south of Kabul and runs to a north-easternly direction and empties itself into the Sind near Attock."[205] As stated before, this river has several affluents on its northern and southern sides. Mention may be made of the Panjshir, the Alingar, the Kunar, the Swat and the Surkhab among them.[206]

Thus, the countries of Kapiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra are watered by the Kabul river and its tributaries, the Panjshir, the Alingar, the Kunar, the Swat, *etc.* The Kurram and the Gomal drains the valley of Banu and Helmund that of Tsao-kub-t'a or Zabulistan area.

E

A number of cities flourished in the regions concerned. Information about them can be gleaned inter alia from Chinese, Arabic and Persian sources. Hsüan-tsang locates two large cities and ten small towns in Kapiśa,[207] one in Lan-po,[208] two in Nagara[209] and four in Gandhāra.[210]

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Among them Kapiśa's metropolis Kāpiśi has been discovered by the exploration and excavation of Begram area in Kohistan by the French archaeological delegation under the supervision of M. Hakin.[211] Town of Si-p'i-to-fa-la-t'zu,[212] Spitavaras or Śvetāvaras or Śvetavat-ālaya or the abode/shrine of Indra still remains to be identified. One Indrapura is mentioned in the *Mahāmayūrī*.[213] Ten small towns situated on the north-western frinze of Kapiśa can not be identified.

Only city stated to be situated in Lan-po was its capital. The Capital, which may be designated by same name (Lan-po), has been identified with modern Lamghan.[214] Nagara's two cities were its capital and Hilo (modern Hadda). The capital of Nagara has been placed by Cunningham at Begram,[215] two miles west of Jelalabad. Hilo is modern Hadda.[216]

Four cities of Gandhāra were Pu-lo-sha-pu-lo, Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti, Po-lu-sha, Wu-to-ka-hau-t'u (ch'a).[217] Of these, Pu-lo-sha-pu-lo, Purushapura, has been identified with Peshawar,[218] Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti, *i.e.* Pushkharāvatī with Charsada,[219] Po-lu-sha, *i.e.* Varusha with modern Palodheri[220] and Wu-to-ka-han-t'u with Und.[221]

Arabic and Persian Geographers and historians refer to the prosperous condition of the above-mentioned cities except Varusha and Kāpiśi, and add a few names to this list.[222]

Instead of Kāpiśi, they make mention of Parvan, which is in a flourishing condition at that time.[223] It is a pleasant town and resort of merchants.[224] It is considered the gateway of India.[225] Al-beruṇi informs us that it is situated a little above the confluence of the Panjshir and the Ghorband rivers.[226] Parvan is still shown in the maps to the north-east of Charikar.[227]

Dynwur, Dunpur of Al-beruṇi, situated on the opposite of Lamghan on the bank of the Kabul, is another such town.[228] S. Labur,[229] Salatura of Hsüan-tsang[230] and Lahore, of Al-biruṇi has[231] been flourishing commercial centre of Gandhāra, besides Vaihand (Und).[232]

The above study shows, that Kapiśa and Gandhāra roughly comprised the territories of Kafiristan and Kohistan, a part of eastern Afghanistan and North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan, and sometimes western Punjab. This area were rich in Orographical and riverine features and had good number of flourishing cities.

Notes and References

1. Pliny, *Nat Hist.*, VI, 23; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, II, pp. 6-22; *Strabo*, pp. 97-99, 256-257; *Rufus*, pp. 106-113; *Ptolemy*, Book VI, Chapter 18, p. 147; *Diodorus*, pp. 162-164; *Arrian*, pp. 214-215; *Su-kao-seng-chuan*, Ch. 2 (No. 1493); *Kai-yuan-lu*, Ch. 7;

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Watters, pp. 122-130; Beal, '*Life*', pp. 54-57; *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XXXVI; Bagchi, *She-kia-Fang-chi*, pp. 33-35; *K'iu-fa-ko-Sang-chuan of I-tsing*, Vol. 10, year 1881, pp. 109, 192; P.C. Bagchi, *Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicon of Li Yen*, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 340-45; Paris, 1930; S. Levi, J.A. 1915; Agrawal, V.S., "The Geographical Contents of (Tibetan) Mahāmayurī", *JL*, *U.P. Hist. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 24-29, 29-52; *Sachau*, Ch. XXV, p. 259.

2. *Kauṭilya*, 2, 42, p. 294; *Kāśikā on Pāṇinī*, IV, 2, 99; *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 44, 27 (N.W. Recension, p. 225); *MMK*, Pt. I, Ch. 10, p. 55, Pt. II, Ch. 30, p. 325; *Abhidhāna*, Ch. 3, V, 566, 567, 137; *Deśināmamālā*, Ch. 2, V. 2, 69; *Halāyudha*,Ch. 2, V. 330; p. 39; *Vaij.*, p. 15.
3. *Kāśikā on Pāṇinī*, IV. 2, 99, p. 225; "Kāpiśāyanamadhu, Kāpiśāyanī drākshā". *Kauṭilya*, 2, 42, p. 294; "Mridvikārasomadhu, tasya Svadeso vyākhāyanam kāpiśāyanam Hārahurakamiti."
4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiskindhya-kāṇḍa*, IV. 35, 24, p. 204.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *MMK*, Pt. I, Ch. 10, p. 55; Pt. II, Ch. 30, p. 325; Pt. II, Ch. 31, p. 333. "Ghakāraprathitā yā vāchā dānavānām vinirdiset kāśmīre deśasamudbhute kāviśe cha Janālaye."
7. *Ibid.*, Pt. II, Ch. 30, p. 225.
8. As on note 6.
9. See note 7.
10. *Mārk. Pur.*, Ch. LI, p. 237, Ch. XLII; *Agni Pur*, Ch. LII, p. 190; *MMK*, Pt. I, Ch. 10, p. 55; Pt. II, Ch, 30, p. 225. References to Hāriti and Pañchika in the different Jātakas also point to this fact. *Abhidhāna*, Ch. 3, p. 133, V. 566-67; *Deśināmamālā*, Ch. 2, V. 2, p. 69; *Śisu.*, X. 4, *Vaij.*, Ch. I, See. 2, p. 15; S. Levi, *J.A.*, 1915; V.S. Agrawal, "The Geographical Contents of *Mahāmayūrī*", *J.L.*, *U.P. Hist.*, R. Soc., 1942, pp. 24-29.
11. *MMK*, Pt. I, Ch. 10, p. 55; Pt. II, Ch. 30, p. 225. Reference to Hāriti and Pañchika in the *Jātaka* stories also points to this fact.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Pliny*, VI. 23. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 22.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
15. *Ptolemy*, Book VI, Ch. 18, p. 147.
16. *Su-kao-Seng-chuan*, Ch. 2 (1493); *Kai-yuan-lu*, Ch. 7; *Watters*, pp. 123-30; '*Life*'. pp. 54-57; Bagchi, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
17. *I-tsing*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 44-46.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Life*, Introduction, p. XXXVI.
20. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 340-45, Paris, 1930 (*Fan-yu-tsa ming of Li-Yen*); *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123-24.
21. *CHS*, Ch. 96A, *J.A.* I. 1881, Vol. X, pp. 34, 37, 38; and 41; *Ibid.* (Compare *CHS*, Ch. 96A, p. 10b, with *Ibid.*, Ch. 96, p. 1b). B.N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Sources*, pp. 111-113, n. 20.

"Ta-hsia of chang ch'ien's report was under the Yueh-chih (*SC*, Ch. 123, p. 5). According to *Ch'ien Han-shu*, Ta-hsia was divided into (or among) five hsi-hou (Yabgus), which (or who) belonged (shu) to the Ta Yueh-chih. The Yabgus concerned are stated to have been those of Hsiumi, Shuang-me, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun and Kao-fu (*CHS*, Ch. 96A, p. 14). The *Hou Han-Shu* replaced Kao-fu by Tu-mi and expressly stated that the *Ch'ien Han-shu* was wrong in taking Kao-fu as being one of the five hsi-hou (*HHS*, Ch. 118, p. 9).

"J. Marquart correctly identified Hsiu-mi with Wakhan and Shuang-mi with Chitral (*Eranshar*, p. 245). However, his identification of Hsi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir and of Kuei-shuang with the country north of Gandhāra or Gandhāra itself (*ibid.*, pp. 245-246), are not supported by definite data. The *Pei-shih*, which was completed in A.D. 659 and which covered the period ranging from A.D. 386 to 618 (H. Frankel, *Catalogue of Translations from Chinese Dynastic Histories* for the period 220-960, p. 156), expressly equated Hsi-tun with the kingdom of Fu-ti-sha (*Pei-shih*, Ch. 97, p. 11). The Ancient Chinese pronounciation of the

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name Fu-ti-sha is known to have been Pi't-d'iek-sa (E. Zurcher, *The Yueh-chih and Kanishka in Chinese Source, PCDK*, p. 19. According to A. Harrmann, the pronounciation of the name Fu-ti-sha was Pi u't-tiai-sa (A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, p. 93, No. 694). This information and probability of location of Fu-ti-sha not far from Hsiu-mi or Wakhan and Shuang-mi or Chitral (see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. 49, F. 2) remind us of the region of Badhaksha(n) or Badaksha(n), noted as Po-to-cha'ng-na by Hsüan-tsang (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II*, p. 277). These considerations lead us to accept the equation of *Hsi-tun=Fu-ti-sha*=Badakshan (see also *TP*, 1907, S.II, Vol. VIII, p. 187, f.n. 2).

"The *Pei-shih* also stated that the capital of Ch'ien-tun, known earlier as Kuei-shuang, lay to the west of *Che*-hsueh-mo-sum, previously called Shuang-mi and indicated that the former (*i.e.*, Ch'ien-tun=Kuei-shuang) was also to the east of the capital of Fu-ti-sha (=Hsi-tun) (*Pei-shih*, Ch. 97, p. 11; *Wei-shu*, Ch. 102, pp. 8, 9 and 12). Thus Kuei-shuang should have been somewhere between Badakshan and Chitral.

"Tu-mi cannot be located with certainly. However, as author (or authors) of the *Ch'ien-Han-shu* appears (or appear) to have confused Tu-mi with Kao-fu, and as the territories concerned seem to have been situated to the north of Kabul, the region in question may have been somewhere immediately to the north of Kao-fu or the Kabul region (*i.e.*, in Kafiristan?).

"Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and also apparently the regions lying between them. And since the *Hou-Han-shou* expressly states that the Yueh-chih "divided their country (*i.e.*, Ta-shia) into five hsi-hou (Yabgus)" (*HHS*, Ch. 118, p. 9), meaning that the whole country was parcelled out between five hsi-hou or five yabgus, Ta-hsia could not possibly have included any territory outside those enumerated here.

"This conclusion strikes at the very root of the oftrepeated theory that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria (*JAOS*, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, p. 102; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 459; JIH, 1933, Vol. XII, p. 10; Scythian Period, p. 28; Age of *Imperial Unity*, p. 137; Com. Hist. Ind., Vol. II, p. 223, *etc.*). No doubt, Ta-hsia may have embraced, among others, the eastern Parts of Bactria, as it is understood from the geography of Ptolemy (*Ptolemy*, VI, 11, 1f.; Mccrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 269f.), and from this point of view the Yueh-chih could be called Bactrians from the time they began to live the Ta-hsia region of Bactria. Nevertheless, Bactria proper, *i.e.*, the region around Batra, was not under the Yueh-chih till the time of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh or Kujula Kadphises. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, this monarch destroyed P'u-ta, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as B'u-ta, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as B'uok-d'at (tat in Canton dialect) (Karlgren, No. 956; A. Herrmann, op. cit., p. 101, No. 2005), reminds one of Bactra, the name of a town of Bactria (see also *TP*, 1905, S. II, Vol. VI, p. 514).

"It is interesting to note that the Wei-shu-refers to the five hsi-hou (into which or among whom the *Chi'ien-Han-shu* divides Ta-hsia) and also speaks of the country of P'o-chih, identifiable with region of Balkh (*Wei-shu*, Ch. 102, p. 8; JA, 1883, S. VIII, Vol. II, p. 331; E. Chavannes, *Documents our Les Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux*, p. 354), as distinct from the territories assigned to the above five Yabgus. This evidence also suggests that the region around Balkh or Bactria was not within old Ta-hsia. Again, as Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* states that "to the east of An-hsi is the country of the Ta Yueh-chil' (*CHS*, Ch. 96A; *JAI*, 1881, Vol. X, p. 40), and as the same treatise indicates that the portions of the Ta-yueh-chih country to the south of Kuel (*i.e.*, the Oxus) comprised Tahsia only (*CHS*, Ch. 96A, p. 14), the region of Bactra lying almost immediately to the west of Ta-hsia could well have been under the influence of An-hsi."

21a. *Ibid.*, p. 93 :—

"According to a notice on the kingdom of Wu-yi-shan-li, occurring in the same Chapter

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(*CHS*, Ch. 96A) its people 'are very numerous and are often under petty chieftains, subject to the An-hsi.' Thus by 33 B.C. or at least by the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Wu-yi-shan-li, which can be located in Seistan area, had experienced the rule of some vassals of An-hsi or the parthian empire. The fact that the *Ch'ien-Han-shu* treats Wu-yi-shan-li and Anhsi as separate countries implies at the time of the collection of its information on Wu-yi-shan-li, that territory enjoyed autonomy or was independent of An-hsi."

21b. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Stein, M.A., *Serindia*, Vol. I, p. 8.
24. As on 21a.
25. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 14-16.
26. Petech, L., *Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu*, p. 64; *Asia Major*, 1962, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 218; Vol. II, p. 386, c.f. the forms Kaspiraioi and Kapeira in *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 47 and 48.
27. *HHS*, Ch. 118, p. 4; *TP*, 1907, S. II, Vol. VIII, p. 175.
28. B.N. Mukherjee, op. cit.
29. Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 161, 277.
30. *HIED*, Vol. I, Exts., pp. 20-23, 32, 63-74; 87-92; JASB, Vol. XII; Minorsky, op. cit. S. 23-24, pp. 109, 112.
31. *HIED*, Vol. I, Exts., pp. 22-23; Minorsky, op. cit., S. 5, 9AB, 9Bb, pp. 63-64; S. 6, pp. 69-72.
32. *Sachau*, pp. 258, 259, 260.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Gardner, *B.M.C.*, p. 19, Pl. VI, 8, Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, p. 26, Pt. III, 13.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Manikiyala Bronze Casket Inscription, *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 151; Kāvisi kshatrapasa G(r)anavryākakshatrapa-putrasa dānamukho. Trans: "Gift of the Kapiśa Kshatrapa, the son of kshatrapa G(r)anavryaka."
37. Hackin, *Begram*, Vol. I (1937), Paris, 1939.
38. *Watters*, pp. 122-130; Vol. II, pp. 266-67, '*Life*', pp. 54-57, 191-93; Bagchi, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 36 ff.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Watters*, p. 122.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 266.
43. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 16, 22.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
45. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 115-22.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 264-66.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-67.
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 180-82.
49. As on note 45.
50. As on note 40; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 28.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-46; *Watters*, Vol. II, pp. 267-68.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 180-82; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
53. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth*, Vol. III, pp. 135, 591, 879, 889; Beal, *Records*, p. 54.
54. Bhandarkar, *I.A.*, Vol. I, p. 22.
55. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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57. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 180; '*Life*', p. 57; Bagchi, op. cit., p. 36 :
"Then along the Dragon Lake going east, for more than 60 li, you cross the Snow Mountain and the Black Ranges reach the frontier of Northern Yin-tu (India). All the cities described above belong to the Hu (*i.e.*, barbarians) country. The central route is reached at this place. This country is called Lan-po. This is the boundary of Northern India. Leaving this place you enter into Tienchu or the land of the Po-lo-men (Brahmanas)."
58. As on note 6.
59. *HIED*, Vol. I, Exts. p. 20; Ibn Haukul, *JRAS*, Vol. XXII, 1853, p. 152ff.
60. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 109.
61. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV, p. 259.
62. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 181, 183, 199, 262.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 180; '*Life*', p. 57; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
65. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 180-181.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
67. *Ptolemy*, Book VII, p. 151; Cunningham op. cit., p. 36.
68. *Mārk. Pur.*, Ch. 57, vv. 34-59—Lampākah/śula-kārasca/; Lampāka-stalagānasca culika Jāgudai Sahah. *Vāyu*, acd. Ch. 45—vv. 109-36; *Bmd.*, Ch. 44 -vv. 44-71—Lampakastanapasaiva; *Mts.*, Ch. 114, vv. 34-56—Lampāka stalaganasca/D.C. Sircar, *Geo. of Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 35.
69. *Kāv.*, Ch. 17, p. 94.
70. *Abhidhāna, Bhumikāṇḍa*, p. 145, v. 26—Lampākastu Muruṇḍaḥ syuḥ."
71. See note 68, 69, and 70.
72. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 180; Bagchi, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 36: Hsüan-tsang's North India begins from Lan-po which supports the Indian view already expressed above. He specifically refers to all other countries as Hu *i.e.*, barbarian. In the '*Life*', the word mi-li-kiu *i.e.*, mlechchha is used to indicate above mentioned states instead of Hu and North-India as referred to as country of the Brahmanas.
73. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 10, 54; Sharma, Studies in *Med. Ind Hist.*, Ch. IV, p. 34.
74. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
77. As on note 65.
78. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 182.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ptolemy*, Book VII, Ch. I, p. 151; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 37; *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 185.
81. *Ptolemy*, op. cit.; Cunningham, op. cit.
82. *Fo-kuo-chi, Ch. 13*; *Ka-lan-chi, Ch. 5*; *Pi-ni-ye-chiang* (the "*Chie-yin-yuan-ching*". *Bun., No. 1130*); *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 185.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 185, n. 3.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 185, n. 3.
86. *Ibid.*, Cunningham, op. cit., p. 37.
87. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Praśasti of Vīradeva, p. 45 ff.
88. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 10, 50, pp. 91, 251-52.
89. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 185.
90. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 37; *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 183.
92. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
93. Masson, *Travels*; ii, 164; Cunningham, p. 38; *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 97-101.
94. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 183.

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95. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 198-224; *Life'*, p. 63; Bagchi, Ch. IV.
96. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 198.
97. *R.V.*, i, 126, 7; *AV.* V. 22, 14.
98. *R.V.*, i. 126.7.
99. *Mbh.*, V. 48. 75; *Kāśika on Pāṇinī*, IV. 1.169.
100. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I.213; IV, 252, 256, 260.
101. *Jāt* No. 406; *Telepatta Jāt*, No. 96; *Susima Jāt* No. 163.
102. *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarākāṇḍa*, Ch. 107, V. 10, p. 6233 :

"Asti Gāndharvavishayaḥ phalamulopaśobhitaḥ /
Sindhorubhayataḥ pārśve deśaḥ paramaśobhanaḥ" //10//

103. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 7.108.10-14; pp. 62, 39 :

"Hatvā chaiva hi tan virān Bharatah kekayisutaḥ
Nivesayāmāsa tadā sammriddhe dve purottame
Taksha Takshaśīlām chaiva puskara puskarāvatīm //10//

Gāndharavadeśe ruchire Gāndhāra vishaye cha sah
Dhanaratnaugha sampurne Kānanairupaśovite //11// *etc.*

104. *Brh Saṁ.*, Vol. I, Ch. IV. 33; SIV, 24-28.

In the north lie the mountains known as the Kailāsa, Himālaya, Vasumat, Dhanusmat, Krauñcha and Meru, the Kuru country (the north and south), the Kshudrameenas, Kaikiyas, Vasatis, Yamunas, Bhoguprastha, the Ārjunāyanas, Agneedharas, Ādarsas, Antardweesa, Trigartha, the Turagamānas, the Svamukhas, Keśadharas, Chipitanāsikas (flat-noses), Daśerakas, Vātadhānas, Śaradhānas, Takshaśīlā, Pushkalāvatī, Kailavāta, the Kanṭhadhanas, Ambaravata, Madrakas, Mālawas, Pauravas, Kachcharas, Daṇḍapiṅgalakas, Mānahālas, Huns, Kohalas, Sutakas, Māndavyas, Bhutapura, Gandhāra, Yaśovatī, Himālayas, Kshatriyas, the Kachcharas, the Gavyas, the Yaudhayas, Dasameyas, Shamakas and Kshemadhurtas."

105. *Mārk. Pur.*, acd. Ch. 57, 34-59; *Vāyu*, Ch. 45, vv. 109-36; *Bmd.*, 36-38; *Mts.*, Ch. 114, vv. 34-56; *Vmm.*, Ch. 13; vv. 36-58 :

"Gandhāra yavanaschaiva
Sindhu Sauvira Madrakā."

106. *Ibid.*, *Mts.*, 114, vv. 34-36; Sircar, *Geo. Anc. and Med. Ind.*, pp. 32-36.
107. *Kāv.*, p. 28.
108. *Abhidhāna, Bhumikāṇḍa*, p. 144, v. 26.
109. *Vaij.*, p. 36, v. 44.
110. R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 214-215 ff.
111. *Ibid.*, Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.
112. *Strabo*, 15.1.27-28; 15.1.30; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.
113. *Ptolemy, Book VII*, p. 152.
114. *HIED*, Vol. I, Ch. IX, pp. 21-22; *Sachau*, Ch. XXV, p. 259.
115. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 5, 1.16, p.7, 1.18, p.10, 11.24-25, p. 12, 1.25. 'Machina Arbaya Gadara Hidush', *etc.*
116. *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 8; Select Inscriptions, p. 10, 1.4 :

'Yona-kamboja Gadharana'.

117. *E.I.*, Vol. IV. 34, pp. 243-254, 248, v. 21; Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapaladeva :

"Bhojair-Matsyaih sa-Madraiḥ kuru-yadu-yavanā-Avanti-Gāndhāra Kirair=bhūpair= .....".

118. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99, 224.
119. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 184, 198.

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120. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99.
121. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 225, 265; Beal, S., '*Life*', pp. 64, 192-193.
122. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 198; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
123. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 41.
124. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 199.
124a. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 240.
125. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 262-63.
126. *Julien*, III, p. 414; *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 262.
127. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 71-73.
128. *Watters*, Vol. II, pp. 263, 264.
129. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 72.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 72; '*Hiouen Thsang*', appendice, iii; *Watters*, II, pp. 282-83.
131. Stein, *ASI Work, N.W. Frontier Province* & Baluchistan, Calcutta, 1905, p. 4.
132. Levi, Jl. U.P. Hist. Vol. XV, pl. II, December, 1942, p. 36f.; D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, p. 20.
133. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 33-36; also see note 46.
134. *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 265.
135. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-23, 181-214; II, 263-266; see note 102, 103 & 68; 99, 100, 101, 105, 114.
136. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-23.
137. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 266.
138. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 122-23.
139. As on note 43.
140. *Ibid.*
141. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
142. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 126.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
144. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 49-66.
145. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 129.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.
149. *Ibid.*, also see note 74.
150. Bagchi, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 36.
151. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 183.
152. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 44.
153. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 218, 221.
153a. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
154. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 44; *Watters*, op. cit., p. 221.
155. Foucher & *Hargreaves, Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra MASI*, 1915, p.
156. *Watters*, II, pp. 262-63; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 71-73.
157. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 264-65; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
158. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 9Bb. & Commentary.
159. *Ibid.*, 9B.b.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Watters*, I, pp. 122-23.
162. *Ibid.*, II, p. 264.
163. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 181, 183.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
165. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XVIII, pp. 211.

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166. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XVIII, pp. 211.
167. Pandey, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
168. *Ibid.*
169. *R.V.*, v. 53, 9; X. 75, 6; *Mārk. Pur.*, Ch. 57, vv. 17-30; *Vāyu*, 45, vv. *Mts.*, 114. vv. 20-32; *Krum.* 46, vv. 28-39; Mbh., 49, 28-42; *Watters*, I, pp. 128, 182, 198-99, 214, 221, 225-26; *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 20-221; *Sachau*, XXV, p. 259; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 21.
170. *R.V.*, v. 53, 9; X.75.6; *Kav.*, p. 94.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
172. As on note 169 (Puranic references).
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. As on note 170; *Kāv.*, p. 94; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 31.
176. *Watters*, I, p. 226; Cunningam, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
177. *Ibid.*, p.
178. *Ibid.*, p.
179. *Ibid.*, p.
180. *Watters*, I, pp. 128, 182, 198-99, 214, 221, 225-26.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
182. Hackin, op. cit.
183. *Watters*, I, p. 182.
184. *Ibid.*
185. See note 90.
186. *Watters*, I, p. 214.
187. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.
188. As on note 176.
189. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 198-99, 221.
190. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
191. As on note 189.
192. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 221.
193. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 44-45; *ASI AR*, 1923-24, p. 68.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
195. *HIED*, Vol. I, Exts., p. 22.
196. *Ibid.*
197. *Ibid.*
198. *Ibid.*
199. *Ibid.*
200. *Ibid.*
201. *Ibid.*
202. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 13, p. 72.
203. *Sachau*, Ch. XXV, p. 259.
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 13, p. 181.
206. *Ibid.*
207. *Watters*, I, p. 122, II, 266.
208. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
209. *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.
210. *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 214, 218, 221.
211. Hackin, op. cit.
212. *Watters*, I, p. 126.

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213. V.S. Agrawal, "The Geographical contents of Mahāmayūrī," *JL, U.P. Hist. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 24-29, 29-52.
214. *Watters*, I, p. 181; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
215. *Ibid.*, p. 38; *Watters*, I, p. 185.
216. Barthoux, op. cit., Vol. I.
217. *Watters*, I, pp. 199, 214, 217, 221.
218. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.
219. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
221. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
222. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 20-22; *Baladhuri*, pp. 146ff.; As on note 59; Minorsky, op. cit., S. 10, 50, 54, 55, 56, p. 91ff.; *Sachau*, Vol. I, XVIII, pp. 206, 211; XXV, p. 259.
223. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 24, 22, p. 112.
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid.*
226. *Sachau*, XXV, p. 259 f.; Pandey, op. cit., p. 33.
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Sachau*, Vol. I, p. 206, 211.
229. Minorsky, op. cit., S. 10, 39.
230. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 221.
231. *Sachau*, op. cit., pp. 258, 259, 260.
232. Minorksy, op. cit., S. 10, 56; see note 131.

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CHAPTER III

Political Background

A

The period under survey begins in circa A.D. 629.[1] It is well known that in this year the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang started on his Indian pilgrimage from the westernmost province of China.[2] He travelled through the Northern caravan route of Central Asia and reached Balkh in 630 A.D.[3] After visiting a few independent states like Bemian *etc.*, and crossing the snowy mountains (Hindukush) and the Black ridge (Siah Koh) he reached Kia-pi-shi.[4] From here he went to Tien-chu (India) by way of Lan-po, Na-kie-lo-ha (Jelalabad), Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhāra).[5] He travelled throughout India for fifteen years and returned to China through Kia-pi-shi.[6]

Accounts of his travels are given in the *T'a-T'ang Hsi-yü-chi*, the *She-kia-Fang-chi*, and the '*Life*' by Hui-Li.[7] These form an important source of our knowledge for the reconstruction of the political condition of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and surrounding areas in the fourth and fifth decade of 7th century A.D.[8]

From Hsüan-tsang's brief sketch of the political situation of the countries which he visited on his way to India it seems that the vast region lying between the Chinese border and the Hindukush was then divided between two supreme powers, *viz.*, the Chinese and the Turks.[9] The Chinese authority under the vigorous rule of the T'ang dynasty extended its power over the area between Chinese border and the former kingdom of Kau-chang and its strong influence was felt by the independent kingdoms between Yen-ki and the lake Issik-kül.[10] The whole region from Issik-kül to Hindukush and Turfan to Merv was under the control of the 'Khan' of the western branch of the Turks.[11] Besides them, there were a few independent kingdoms in Central Asia.[12]

On the south of Hindukush, lay the kingdom of Kia-pi-si (Kapiśa).[13] This kingdom was very powerful at that time. Kapiśa was above 4000 li in circuit, and was bounded on the north by the snowy Mountains (Hindukush), as stated earlier.[14]

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The king who was selected from the Kshatriya caste, was a clever and (Shrewed man and) had brought under his control some ten kingdoms.[15] Towards the east his authority extended over Lan-po (Laghman), Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahāra – Modern Jelalabad), and Kan-t'o-lo (i.*e.* Gandhāra) as stated before.[16] It's north-eastern boundary was formed by Ta-cha-shi-lo (Taxila), a former dependancy of Kapiśa, as mentioned before.[17] Kāśmīra under the vigorous rule of Kārkota Durlabha Vardhana (circa A.D. 631-33) annexed Taxila from the Shahis, as stated earlier.[18] In the south, Kapiśa's boundary stretched upto Fa-la-na territory (Banu district).[19] It is also likely that it includes Tsao-ku-T'a (Taso-kuta=Arachosia) with its capital at Ho-si-na (Ghajni), since the king of Kapiśa apparently escorted Hsüan-tsang on his homeward journey from the town of U-to-kia-han-cha (modern Und), via Lan-po (Lamghan), Fa-la-na, Op-o-kin, Fu-li-shi-sa-tang-na to the frontiers of Kapiśa.[20]

Hsüan-tsang, recorded that this prince was a devout follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[21] He was fond of religious discussions and held a religious assembly—Moksha Parishad every five years.[22] He did not follow the policy of religious persecution, which was apparent from Hsüan-tsang's reference to the members of Digambara, Pāśupata sects and others.[23] So, other religions flourished under his care.[24] As it appears from the dates of Hsüan-tsang's visit to Kapiśa, the king in question ruled at least from circa A.D. 630 to 645. It is possible that his rule began a little earlier and continued upto c. A.D. 645.

Thus, we can infer that the kingdom of Kapiśa was of considerable importance. It was stretched over a large area and was consisted of greater portion of modern Eastern Afghanistan including Kafiristan and North-western Frontier Province of Pakistan. Hsüan-tsang referred to the king of Kapiśa as a Kshatriya ruler.[25] He, however, did not mention the name of this Kshatriya chief. This omission makes the matter of identification a difficult one. Here the term either denotes a member of the Kshatriya caste or an Indianized foreigner who followed the vocation of kingly class.

Coins, inscriptions of the earlier period, and the *Harsacharita* of Bāṇa records the existence of Hūṇa supremacy in the area concerned in two previous centuries.[26] Of them, Khingala ruled over Kabul and its surrounding areas in the end of the 6th century A.D.[27] It is not unlikely that the Kshatriya king may be either a descendant of this Hūṇa family, or he may be an outsider, who conquered these territories from the Hūṇas.

Muslim annals, coins, Chinese source supports the latter suggestion. The Muslim chronicles referred to one Tarkhan Nizak who was ruling over Badghis area in 651 A.D. and resisted Arab advance on Khurasan from that period upto A.D. 709 when he was killed.[28] It is interesting to note in this connection that a series of coins with king's bust and fire-alter device, depicted a king wearing head-

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dress which is adorned with Triśula or wings surmounted by a buffallows head.[29] These coins bearing the Bactrian and Pahlavi legend with traces of Brahmi letters refer to one king NAPKI MALKA, NPSK MLKA or NCKY MALK or NEZAK or N(I)Ṣ(A)K MALK, NISAK, MALKA *i.e.*, Nisak, the lord or lord of the Nisak family.[30]

According to Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, the bilingual legend of such a coin, now preserved in the Hermitage (Leningrad),[31] bears on the obverse the copy of the bust of Khusru II. The Pahlavi legend on it may be read, following B.N. Mukherjee, as N ṢK M(A)LK=N(a)sk M(a)lk(a) or N(i)sk, the lord or lord of the N(i)sk family. The Pahlavi legend on the right is 'Afzut Zarr' and on the left 'Bage Zutai'.[32] The marginal legend in Bactrian is (pAH)O TARAKA NICA A (=Shao Taraka Nisaga).[33] The fire alter is portrayed on the reverse with Pahlavi legend to left HVR (Hura *i.e.* Khurasan) and to right HAFT CHAL *i.e.*, (year) 47.[34] The date, if referred to Hijra era, may correspond to 667 A.D. Specimens of this class of coins have been found in large numbers from Khurasan and Kapiśa.[35]

It appears from the coins that in the sixties of the 7th century A.D. a ruler called Nisaga ruled in Khurasan. He was described as belonging to Tarakan [name of a tribe or place]. He used the title Xutai which was the designation of the prince of Bokhara and Gozgan.

This Taraka Nisaga can well be identified with earlier mentioned Tarkhan Nizak of the Muslim chronologists as ruling in the Badghis area in 31 A.H.=651 A.D. The coin-type of Nisaga is based on that of the earliest Arab governors. So is that of N(a)ṣk or N(i)ṣk Malk, who also copied the bust of Khusru II on some of his coins. The name written as NICA A in Bactrian could have been expressed in Pahlavi as N(i)ṣ(a*) K(a*).

So, the lord Nisak=Nizak=Nisaga ruled in Khurasan area in the fifties as well as in the sixties of the 7th century A.D. Use of Bactrian and Pahlavi, a few letters of Brahmi legends indicate Nezak's hold over the territories, where these two scripts were equally at home and the third also known; that is Khurasan, Tokharistan and Kapiśa-Kabul region. Therefore, we can identify the Kshatriya chief with this Nisaga or Nisak. A close examination of coins bearing the legend NṢK MLKA certainly indicates that many of them bear portraits of the ruler concerned. But these may not represent one single monarch.[36]

The Chinese *Annals* also referred to one No-se, king of Kia-pi-sha, or Ki-pin (or Chi-pin) *i.e.*, Kapiśa who sent a mission to China in 719 A.D.[37] The *Annals*, moreover, recorded that this ruler of Ki-pin used to wear crown simulating the head of an Ox.[38] The striking similarity in the name No-se and Nisak and the use of same kind of headdress suggest that there exists some sort of relationship between these two rulers. But these may not represent one single monarch.

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Muslim chronologists refer to Nizak in connection with events ranging from 31 A.H. to 91 A.H. (circa A.D. 651-709 A.D.).[39] In A.H. 91, one Nizak was killed in fighting.[40] "It seems immossible", Habibi remarks, "for a ruler to rule more than 70 years and at least when he was 85 still being active and ready to fight against his opponents."[41] But, if Nizak was killed in A.D. 709, No-se=Nisak who ruled in Ki-pin (Kapiśa) in 719 A.D. must be another ruler of that name. So, there were at least two kings called Nisak. This family ruled in Khurasan and Tokharistan (where was Baghlan); Brahmi letters on their coins indicate their authority in parts of North-west India and its borderlands. If the above mentioned Chinese evidence is correct, then No-se (Nizak II) ruled over Kapiśa. So, even after losing most of their territories to the north of the Hindukush, they retained their hold over Kapiśa.

Therefore, it is possible that Nizak was originally the name of a Tarkhan king. Later, the name became a family name and his successors were known by this designation.

Otherwise, we shall have to believe that he ruled for a very long time and that different busts on his coins are only different conventional busts and not actual portraits. Some of these may even indicate attempts to portray the ruler at different stages of his life.

From the Muslim chronicle we can gather following facts about Nizak's life. As already stated above, Arabs found Nizak ruling over Badghis area at the very outset of their onslaught on Khurasan (A.D. 651).[42] In 31 A.H. (651 A.D.), Nizak solicited the marriage with a daughter of the Sasanian king Yazdegerzed III.[43] At Yazdegerzed's refusal Nizak attacked him at Gunabad.[44] Yazdegerzed fled to Merv where he was killed after a few years.[45] In 34-35 A.H. (A.D. 664-65), he captured Balkh and exterminated the Bermakids.[46] It was conquered by Rabi ibn Ziyad in 51 A.H.=circa 671 A.D.[47]

In 671 A.D., Kabul Shah ousted the Arabs from Kabul, when Nizak was fighting against the Arabs to the North of that region.[48] In 709 A.D. Nizak sent gifts to the king of Kabul and himself went to Baghlan.[49]

In 84 A.H. Yazid bin Mohallab invaded the castle of Nizak in the Badghis region.[50] Nizak handed over the treasury of the castle to the Arabs and made peace with them.[51]

In 87 A.H. Qutaiba bin Muslim was appointed the Governor of Khurasan.[52] Nizak then freed the Muslim from prisons.[53] Qutaiba demanded Nizak's obedience, who asked for the freedom of the Badghis region. Negotiations broke down.[54] Later Nizak asked Qutaiba to allow him to go to Tukharistan.[55] Nizak arrived at the temple of Now Bahar (Nava Vihara) at Balkh.[56] Here Mugahira bin Abdallah tried to beseize him.[57] But Nizak escaped and retired to Khlum where he made preparation to fight Qutaiba.[58]

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"In 90 A.H. Nizak with the help of Ispabad of Balkh, Bazan, Dihkan of Mervrood, Dihkan of Talaqan. Tevesaî, Suhrkk, Dihkan of Faryab and Jujuni, Dihkan of Juzjan, made arrangements to fight Qutaiba.[59] Kabul Shah promised to resist the Arabs to the south of Hindukush, if Nizak failed to halt them on its North.[60] In 91 A.H. (c. 709 A.D.) Qutaiba ousted the allies of Nizak.[61] Qutaiba fought with Nizak at Khlum and also at Baghlan.[62] Nizak took refuge in the Karz Valley.[63] There he fell into a trap laid by Salim Nasih, a messenger of the brother of Qutaiba.[64] Salim Nasih persuaded Nizak to believe that he would be granted safety, if he visited Qutaiba who was then at Eshkamish (Modern Eshkamish in Talaqan).[65]

But when Nizak and his associates came out of the Karz valley, they were arrested.[66] Then as ordered by Hajjaj he and his associates were put to death.[67]

The Chinese *Annal* (the *Tang shu*) corroborates the evidence of the Muslims. The *T'ang-shu* referred to several embassies from the king of Ki-pin or Chi-pin (*i.e.*, Kapiśa) to China between A.D. 629-647, when the king sent horses.[68] In return the Chinese emperor sent ambassadors with valuable presents.[69] The king of Ki-pin again sent presents to China.[70]

It seems the king in question whom we may identify with Nizak, sent presents to the Chinese emperor for a very special reason. We know from the *T'ang shu* that king of Ki-pin sent his youngmen to resist the Ta-chi *i.e.*, Tajiks *i.e.*, the Arabs, in 685 A.D.[71] So, to stem the tide of Arab invasion, the king of Ki-pin *i.e.*, Nizak sought Chinese help, The *Tang-shu's* reference to kingdom of Ki-pin consisting of the people of Ki-pin, Turks and people of Tokharistan[72] suggests an united kindom under one king.

The Chinese emperor's bestowal of the title of 'Military incharge of the district of Sieou-sien' on king of Ki-pin in 705 A.D.[73] is nothing but record of plain fact that king of Ki-pin is the leader of the united army as is evidenced by Muslim chronicle's reference. Muslim chronicles recorded that Nizak opposed the Arab inrods with help of Kabul Shah and others as stated, between 705-06 A.D. to 709 A.D.[74] After his death, king of Gujgan, one of his associates and allies, tried to come to terms with Qutaiba in lieu of tribute.[75] For this reason he went to the camp of Qutaiba. His sudden death in his camp in doubtful circumstances infuriated the people of Gujgan.[76] They attacked and drove the Muslims away.[77] Another alley was sent to Damascus in chains and he remained there until his death.[78] It seems from the brief sketch of events that Nizak, Nisak or Nose group of kings were a formidable enemy of the Muslims in this region. They resisted Muslim attack on Khurasan from 651 A.D. To stem the tide of the Muslim invasion Nizak I sought alliance with the rulers of the neighbouring territories of which the most notable was Kabul Shah with the exception of the Chinese emperor. Kabul did not form a part of Nizak's dominion upto

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709 A.D.[79] Sending of presents to Kabul Shah and Chinese emperor. indicates his friendly relation with Kabul Shah and the Chinese emperor. He not only sought alliance but also led the military operations against the Muslims and made arrangements for the joint defence of their countries in those days. Though the allies suffered a setback in 709 A.D., according to Chinese annals this alliance continued to exist even after the death of Nizak I.[80]

The Chinese source referred to another No-se, a king of Ki-pin who used to wear a headdress simulating an Ox,[81] as referred to above. As already mentioned above, coins of Nisaga show similar crown, which suggests this No-se may be a descendant of the earlier one. This king ruled at least upto 719 A.D. So there were at least two kings called Nizak. This family ruled in Khurasan (Kapiśa being a part of it), Tokharistan, between 651-719. Brahmi letters on their coins indicate their authority in some parts of North-western India and its borderlands. If the Chinese evidence is correct, No-se ruled over Kapiśa. So even after loosing most of the territory, to the north of Hindukush this family might have continued to rule in Kapiśa and nearby areas.

B

But this state of affairs did not continue for long. The *T'ang-Shu* referred to the king of Ki-pin again, in 719 A.D.[82] The king of Ki-pin sent an ambassador to Chinese court with the offer of an astronomical text in that year.[83] The Chinese emperor conferred to him the title Ho-lo-ta-che Tigin (Tigin of Arrokhadj, Ho-ta-lo-che denoted Arrokhadj or Zabulistan).[84] This country submitted to Kapiśa after 711 A.D.[85] This bestowal of title suggests that there may be some upheaval in the country. Possibly king of Zabulistan usurped the throne of Kapiśa. It is interesting to note in this connection that in his address to the emperor of China in 724 A.D. the king of Sie-yu (*i.e.*, Zabulistan) was given the title of Tigin—"Tche-k'eu-eul, Sie-yu (Zabulistan)", who received the investiture in 720 A.D.[86] This statement of the *T'ang-Shu* supports the above-mentioned suggestion. Ho-lo-ta-che-Tigin and "Tche-k'eu-eul, may be one and the same person. In 720 A.D., the emperor of China conferred on Tche-k' eu-eul the title Hi-li-fa-of Ho-to-lo-che (Arrokhodj).[87]

Again, we find mention of another Tigin in 739 A.D.[88] The *T'ang-Shu* stated that in A.D. 739 Ou-san T'e-kin Shah demanded that his son Fou-lin-ki-po should succeed him."[89]

We can infer from the above references to Tegins as rulers of Kapiśa, that Kapiśa passes from the hands of Nizak dynasty to another group called Tigin between A.D. 719-20. This Tigin group was originally rulers of Zabulistan, as stated above. They supplanted the Nizak group in Kapiśa. Ka-lo-to-che Tegin or Ho-lo-ta-che and Tch-k'eu-eul and Ou-san T'e-kin Shah may denote one and the

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same person. The first three being title, the fourth Ou-san may be his personal name.

Here again, the evidence of Chinese source is substantiated by a series of coins in silver, copper or billon, issued by Tigino Shao or Shahi Tigin.[90] His silver coins bear on its obverse beardless bust of king with Bactrian legend. Cunningham reads it as Sri Shono.[91] Göbl deciphers the Bactrian legend—CPI TO INI SOYO (=Sri Togin's Shaoo).[92] Dr. Mukherjee reads the legend CPI TO INO SOHO (Sri Tigino Soho).[93]

The reverse portrays fire-alter with attendants having resemblance to the impression as on some coins of Shapur II.[94] Cunningham reads the Brahmi legend in two lines—one on each side,—as : 'Sri Yadavi' on the one hand and 'mana Sri' on the other.[95] According to Göbl the reading of the Brahmi legend to left is 'Srima Devi' and to right 'Pare Sri'.[96] Göbl deciphers the Pahlavi legend on left field as WST (=20) and on right field as Ab.[97] Dr. Mukherjee more correctly reads the Brahmi legend to right as 'Sri ma Devi', (= Mother earth) and to left as Vasu Sri=Goddess of the earth.[98] In the opinion of Dr. Mukherjee, the Pahlavi legend on left field stands for BWM *i.e.*, 20.[99] The era may be attributed to the era of Yagdezgerzed III, *i.e.*, 708+20=728 A.D.[100]

One copper or billon coin portrays head of king on its obverse and an object on its reverse.[101] This coin weighs about 92 grammes[102] and may be doubtfully attributed to above-mentioned ruler from the similarity in busts.

Thus, the issuer of these types of silver and copper coins, is Tigino Shao or Soho, *i.e.*, Shahi Tigin. Use of Pahlavi, Bactrian, Brahmi legends suggest his hold over Khurasan, Tokharistan and Kapiśa-Gandhāra region. The *T'ang-Shu* places Tigin between 719-20 to 745 A.D. as stated above. The date A.D. 728 found from coins, tallies exactly with the date supplied by the *T'ang Shu.* Therefore, the Tigin Shahi may be easily identified with T'e-kin of the Chinese *Annals.* This Tigin Shahi was a powerful ruler.

Al-beruni, referred to one Barhatkin, *i.e.*, the Vrihat Tigin or Great Tigin as the founder of the dynasty of the Turkish Shahiyas of Kabul.[103] In his opinion, one of this series of kings was Kanak, who built the Vihāra of Purushavar.[104] Al-beruṇi made a slight mistake here in placing Kanak and Barhatkin to one and the same dynasty. In fact, it is otherwise. These are two separate dynasties. Kanak of Al-biruṇi was famous Kanishka who belonged to Kushana dynasty.[105]

Tigin is a Turkish word.[106] It is used as a name and suffix in Turkish which means prince of the blood.[107] It is specially used to indicate the son or brother of Khan. The Chinese renders it as *T'e-kin.*[108] This designation is very common among the Turkish rulers of North-western India in the 7th-8th centruries A.D.[109] Thus, Tigin dynasty was undoubtedly of Turkish origin. Therefore, we may identify Al-beruni's Barhatkin or Great Tigin with this Tigin.

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Muslim chronologists stated that Qutaiba came to an ignomious end after the death of the Calip Walid.[110] The next two rule (circa A.D. 715-717 and 717-720 A.D.) being on the whole peaceful gave war-torn Khurasan a brief respite.[111] Muslim chroniclers stated that the "inhabitants of Khurasan could not be kept in order except by sword."[112] They further recorded that there was general rising against the Muslims in difierent parts of Khurasan in 721 A.D.[113] Possibly Shahi Tigin or Tigin Shahi took this opportunity to reconquer parts of Khurasan. As referred to above, he might have taken the help of allied army of different people of this area. The Chinese source further stated that the king Sha-li-Na-lo-Seng-po-ta-pa-ma *i.e.*, Śrī Narasiṁgha Potavarman, the Pallava ruler of Kāñchi, proposed to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 721 to send elephants and cavalry to fight with the Arabs and Tibetans.[114] This above mentioned statement supports our earlier suggestion that the kings of Kapiśa, Nizak and the Tigin Shahi sought Chinese alliance as a protective measure. Wu-K'ong definitely stated that the king of Ki-pin sent an ambassador to China with a proposal of alliance for mutual protection.[114a]

Tigina Shahi was followed by two kings Vakhu or Vasudeva,[115] and Vāhi Tigin[116] known from the coins. The exact relationship between these three is unknown at present. But the adoption of same reverse device points to their belonging to the same branch of a royal family.

From the above-mentioned statement of the Chinese *Annals*[117] we know that Ou-san-T'e-kin Shah have at least two sons, Fou-lin-ki-po and Pu-fu-chion. Ou-san T'e-kin Shah nominated Fou-lin-ki-po as his successor.[118] Possibly he died at an early age, so Pu-fu-chion succeeded his father on the throne of Kapiśa and Udāyān in A.D. 745.

This Pu-fu-chion may be identified with Vasudeva or of the coins.

Very little is known about Vasudeva except from Coins. He issued silver, copper or billon currency.[119] His silver coins bear the bust of king, copied from Khusru II's coin.[120] The marginal Pahlavi legend is deciphered by Göbl and B.N. Mukherjee on the basis of several coins, as follows :—

1. CIP "S^{v}mr't=
2. Spwr bg hwt'p
3. Whm'n'c mrt'n=Wahaman Sha Martan Malka (*i.e.*, lord of Wahaman and Multan.)
4. MLK[121]
5. GdH'PZWt = G(a)da =Gandhāra.
6. S pWvr H Wt'p[122] =

The reverse portrays the sun God with rayed flames ascending to a point. The

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Pahlavi legend has been reconstituted on the basis of several coins by Göbl and B.N. Mukherjee[123] as follows :—

(1 or 2) Syp Krm'n s^{v}m' n s^{v}'n=Sir K(i)rmans(t)n

(2 or 3) h d w=Hindu=Hindu

(3 or 4) . . . . . .

(4 or 5) T s^{v}, . . . Z'W l st 'n=Zaulstan

(5 or 6) Sri Vasudeva

(I or X'o clock in inner circle).

Another copper coin of this type may be doubtfully attributed to Vasudeva.[124] The obverse has the same head of king to front and the reverse bears the identical portraiture of sun god to front with Pahlavi legend :

S pyr' b g' h wt' h

T rt

Zy/Z'Wlstan=Zaulstan.[125]

This coin weighs about 1 gramm.[126]

Another silver coin (not represented in Göbl) bears on its obverse head of king to front with Pahlavi legend in the inner and outer flan.

Inner to left × Afzut

Inner to right Saf Varsu Tef=Sri Vasudeva

Margin : Saf Varsu Tef Wahaman Multan Mulka=Śrī Vasudeva, king of Bahaman and Multan.[127]

The reverse portrays same bust of sun-god to front. Indian legend to right is Śrī Vasu Deva (reversed). The Pahlavi legend to left is Tukan Zaulastan (=India, Zabulistan) and in margin Sapardalakshān=Sapādalaksha (= Rajputana).[128]

Another silver coin (not in Göbl) has similar king's head to front (based on Khusru II's coin) with Pahlavi legend on inner and outer flan which can not be read.[129] According to Cunningham the Brahmi legend to right is—Śrī Bahmana and to left is Vasudeva. Dr. Mukherjee reads the Brahmi legend to left and right as Va . . . . . ra and Vakhudeva.

The reverse portrays fire alter with two attendants standing to front with two short words in Pahlavi to right and left. Circular legend round the outside can not be read.

It appears from all these coins that the issuer of this series of coins was Śrī Vasudeva or Vakhudeva. He held sway over the countries of Zabulistan, (Ghazni region), Taki (Punjab), India (Hindu), Gandhāra (GDH), Bahmanabad, Multan and Rajputana. He was a ruler of considerable importance.

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We may tentatively identify him with famous Ratbil of the Muslim chronicles. This king opposed Muslims successfully during the middle of the 8th century A.D. Vasudeva's coins are undated, So with the help of *Chinese Annals* we may place the beginning of his reign in 745 A.D. large number of coins indicate a longer reign period of about 20 to 25 years that is 745+20=765 or 770 A.D.

Again, the *T'ang Shu* refers to an embassy sent by the king of Kapiśa to China in A.D. 750.[130] In return the Chinese emperor sent Wu-K'ong with valuable presents in A.D. 751.[131] Wu-K'ong came to Gandhāra by way of Su-li, Kashgarh, Swat *etc.*, and remained here for sometime.[132] He returned to China about A.D. 790.[133] He definitely stated that king of Ki-pin sent an ambassador to China with a proposal for alliance for mutual protection.[133a] The Chinese emperors sending of another ambassador in return proves that he accepted the proposal. It is further stated by the *Chinese Annals* that the king of Ki-pin desired to send his son to the Chinese court. The above statement suggests that alliance with Chinese emperor was of great importance to the king of Ki-pin in this time of stress and strains. Wu-K'ong referred to Gandhāra as the eastern capital of Ki-pin and to its rulers as Turks.[134] He noticed construction of several Buddhist establishments in Gandhāra.[134a] The king of Ki-pin sent another embassy to China in A.D. 759-60.[135] possibly in return. It is possible the ruler referred to above is no other than Pu-fu-chion=Vasudeva himself.

He was followed by Vāhi as referred to above.[136] Vahi's coinage consists of silver and copper or billon money with same device and legend.[137]

One of his silver coin has its obverse device beardless head of king with small moustach; his tiara is surmounted by a tiger's head and two triśulas and in the field to right are three characters which Cunningham takes for corrupt Greek Śrī Shano.[138] Göbl reads CPI poYo=Sri Shouo.[139] According to Dr. Mukherjee, these characters stand for CPI paHo=Śrī Shoho.[140] In Cunningham's opinion, Brahmi legend in circle outside is Śrī Hitivi cha Airān cha Parameśvara Sri Shāhi Tigin Devaja="The fortunate sovereign of both India and Persia, the fortunate Shahi Tigin, the son of heaven.[141] Göbl takes the legend to be—Hitivira kharala vāhi Tigina deva Kāritam.[142] Dr. Mukherjee more correctly reads it as follows : Śrī Hitivi Airan cha Parameśvara Vāhi Tigin Deva Kāritam=Done by Śrī Vāhi Tigin, the illustrious hero of the earth.[143]

The reverse portrays same head of sun god to front with Pahlavi legend left and right which Cunningham read Saf Takif Tef and Takan Khurasan Malka.[144]

According to Göbl the Pahlavi legend on the left stands for Haft Haftat=77 *i.e.*, year 77. The Pahlavi legend to right is Tgyn' HWr'sn Malka=Tigino Khurasan Malka=Tigin, lord of Khurasan.[145] Dr. Mukherjee supports Göbl's reading.[146]

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Another copper or billon coin of about 0.97 grammes is attributed to this king by Göbl.[147] The obverse has the usual head of king and the reverse portrays a figure with Pahlavi legend h wr' s'n=Khurasan.[148]

Therefore, Vāhi Tigin was a king of Khurasan. Brahmi legend suggest his rule over north-western parts of India. The date 77 may be interpreted according to Yezdegerzed era of 708 A.D. *i.e.*, 708+77=785 A.D.

We can safely presume that his rule began a little earlier between A.D. 770-780. Possibly he lost his hold over Zabulistan during this period. It is interesting to note in this connection Kāśmīra's relationship with the kings of this Shahiya dynasty. At the beginning of the period under survey, Kāśmīra conquered Taxila from the Shahis as stated above.[149] From this period, Kāśmīra began to expand their empire at the cost of the Shahis. Possibly this policy was followed by the rulers of Kāśmīra in the whole of 7th century and in the first decade of 8th century. With the accession of Lalitāditya, a new leaf was turned. Lalitāditya, who understood the true nature of Muslim invasion, maintained friendly relations with the Shahis.[150] Even Shahis accepted office under him.[151]

Vashudeva, tentatively identified with Ratbil, the king of Zabul as referred to above was a contemporary of Lalitāditya whose rule began at about circa A.D. 724 and ended in 760 A.D.[152] According to Kalhana, Lalitāditya three times defeated one Mammuni.[153] The name definitely shows that it belongs to one of the Muslim chief of the surrounding areas. As the region under survey is open to the Muslim invasion, it is likely that Lalitāditya took leading part in some of the campaigns of the Shahis, against the Muslims who attacked this region and suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Ratbil. Yaśovarman is said to have defeated 'Pārasikas' (Parsian) in the *Gauḍa Vaho* of Vākpatirāja.[154] As there is no mention of Persian invasion to India in any of the chronicles and as Persia is under the Arabs during this period, it appears that the word Persian here denoted Muslims. It is not unlikely that Yaśodharman took part in the campaign against Muslims as an ally of Lalitāditya.

According to Muslim historians, they became much engrossed in their own affairs in course of time due to dissension in the Caliphate.[155] Abbasid canvassing was carried on from Khurasan by its supporters.[156] This attracted so much of their attention that they conducted only limited number of campaigns against the infidels of the area concerned.[157] After experiencing constant warfare from A.D. 650, the inhabitants of the zone under consideration and Khurasan (parts of Afghanistan, Central Asia) returned to settled life in this brief respite, though Islam was propagated and Arabs settled in their midst.[158] After the reconquest of Balkh, it was made the capital of Khurasan in A.D. 736.[159] The city was rebuilt and beautified by the Bermaceds in 736 A.D.[160] It seems from the statement preserved in the *Futuh ul Buldan* and the *T'ang-Shu* and also from the evidence of coins that

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Khurasan and Zabulistan became the bone of contention between the Arabs and the Turkish Shahis in the second half of 8th century A.D. Although, Muslims sometimes faced reverses, their hold over Khurasan became stronger and secure with the passing of years.[161] Though, in Zabulistan Vāsudeva-Ratbil got the upper hand for the time being, he was killed in a battle with the Muslims later. His son, forced the Muslims to come to terms with him. This Ratbil may be Vāhi Tigin who ruled over Kapiśa in 785 A.D.

Thus deprived of Khurasan, Shahis were forced to tetire beyond Hindukush, but continued to rule over Kapiśa and its neighbouring areas.

Our information about the last decade of 8th century is very little, except that Vāhi was holding sway over Kapiśa. However, we may refer to a Sārada inscription from Hund (Und), which mentions a king Anantadeva.[162] For its fragmentary nature, it is not possible to make out the purpose of the text. "All that can be made out from the extant portion is that a part of the text was in the form of a *praśasti* of king Anantadeva, who was very sincere in his devotion to elders and was taking on innumerable occasions the advice of the Brahmanas, and patronized the scholars and learned men. He spared no effort in the task of protecting his subjects."[163] Anantadeva is referred to as "Udrikta Turushka-Pushkala valakshepanaika-dakshāt-manā," *i.e.*, one who was expert in dismissing the power of the Turushkas (Turks) and Pushkalas.[164] The word Turushka denotes Turks of Central/Asia.[165] In those days it used to indicate Muslims of Turkish extraction. The word Pushkala indicates inhabitant of Pushkalāvatī.[166] It is rather interesting, that the Turushkas are mentioned along with Pushkalas. But the phrase may be one of the conventional phrases and does not mean any particular attack. "The date portion of the epigraph, if there is any, is lost. On palaeographic ground, the charter has been assigned to later part of 8th century A.D.[167] Lines 12, 13 of this epigraph refers to three persons *viz.*, navakarmapati Jayantarāja, son of Upendra, the Brahmana Pillaka, son of Virāditya and Kshatriya Bhogika, son of Vihenda.[168] Names of these three persons again, appear in the inscription of Mahārājñī Kāmeśvarī.[169] Reference to these three persons in both the inscriptions show that the record belong to one and the same generation. The date of Queen Kāmeśvari's inscription is in Lokakāla and falls accordingly to A.D. 774-775 A.D.[170] As has been pointed out above, the present charter is closely related to the inscription of Queen Kāmeśvarī and therefore, is not far removed from 774-75 A.D."

Therefore, we can conclude that Anantadeva ruled in Hund and nearby areas from about the middle of the 8th century A.D. It also appears that North-Western part of India faced Muslim inrods from that time.

However, we have no information about his relationship with the Vasudeva group of kings. He might have been a protegee of Kāśmira/kings, who was ruling

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Hund and its neighbouring areas in the earlier part of the period under discussion. Otherwise, his claim, as expert in dismissing the power of Turushka and Pushkala sounds impossible. Probably he defeated Turushka and Pushkala with the aid of Kasmira.

Any way, Gāndhara began to be invaded by Arabs from this period.[171] They attacked, conquered, looted the land and took many captives whom they sold as slaves.[172] Sometimes, after subjugating the land they negotiated for peace with the people of that particular tract of land in lieu of tribute.[173] Islam was propagated.[174] Whenever, possible, the people of this area revolted and drove out the Muslims from their midst and returned to their former faith.[175] The Muslim chronicles reveal that from the 9th century onwards Muslim rule becomes firmly rooted to the surrounding areas.[176] Account of the later part of 10th century shows long drawn struggle of the Shahis with the Ghaznavids as an ultimate result.

The *Akhbar Makka* provides information about the second decade of 9th century.[177] According to evidence of this book, Muslims invaded Kabul valley in 815-16 A.D., when Amir-al-Mamun was ruling Caliph.[178] The king of Kabul, Pathi Dharmi Deva suffered a severe defeat in the hands of Muslims.[179] He paid homage to the Amir and accepted Islam.[180] He visited Amir-al-Mamum personally when he came to Khurasan.[181] Accounts of Baladhuri also supported this statement.[182] He stated that Kabul was conquered by Arabs in circa A.D. 815-16.[183] Kabul Shah paid double tribute to Al-Mamun when he visited Khurasan and post was established between these two countries.[184] Moreover, the *Akhbar Makka* also described that the throne and crown of Kabul Shah were deposited at the sacred Kaba for public inspection.[185] The throne and crown were inscribed with inscription from which we find the above-mentioned account.[186] These inscriptions also stated that Kabul, Sind and Gandhāra came under Abbasid rule from about that time.[187] This victory over Kabul Shah who might be the last member of the Turkish Shahi dynasty, weakened their position.

Al-beruṇi, mentioned that the last Turkish Shahiya ruler was Lagaturman, who was evil in thought and action.[188] So, the people complained about him to the Brahmana minister Kallar.[189] Lagaturman was placed in the jail for correction by Kallar.[190] Ultimately, Kallar deposed the king and usurped the throne.[191] Possibly this very reason for his defeat at the hands of Muslim and acceptance of Islam, Kallar so easily overthrew Lagaturman.

C

Whatever, might be the case, the evidence of coins points to the issuing of a new series of coins by Spalapatideva. Spalapati Deva issued bull and horsemen, elephant and lion and peacock types.[192] These types were not new to this

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area.[193] But they definitely indicate that the rulers who issued this types belong to Brahmanical faith. Thus, coins corroborate Al-beruni's statement that the members of the next dynasty are the follower of Brahmanical religion. Numismatic study of this series reveals that the coins of Spalapatideva are the earliest of this series and have been found mostly in Afghanistan and less in Punjab.[194] This fact may be taken to prove that Spalapatideva is the first issuer of this currency and his empire includes Afghanistan and Punjab. Therefore, Spalapatideva may be identified with Kallar of Al-beruṇi though his hold over Punjab is not very strong. Large number of coins of Spalapatideva in different varieties clearly show a longer region period. According to Macdowall, Spalapatideva's coinage predates that of Vakkadeva.[195] Vakkadeva's currency in its turn is the earlier than the coins of Sāmantadeva with simple legend.[196] Khadavayaka's coins post-date that of Sāmantadeva.[197]

According to the evidence of Muslim sources Kabul Shah suffered a crushing defeat at the Muslim hands in 815-16 A.D., as stated earlier.[198] Usurpation of the throne by Kallar-Spalapati may take place within next two or three years, *i.e.*, about 819-20 A.D. As already stated, larger number of coins of Spalapati indicates longer reign period of about 20 to 25 years. Thus, we come to 840-845 A.D. being the end of Spalapatideva's rule.

Therefore, it appears that Kallar-Spalapatideva was succeeded by Vakkadeva. Vakkadeva was succeeded by Sāmantadeva and Khadavayaka. Nothing is known about Vakkadeva except from his coins. Representation of the lion, the mount of Durgā and bull[199] on his coins indicates his veneration for Durgā and Śiva. His coins are recovered though rarely from Jhelum to Kabul area, mostly from Punjab.[200] This indicates that all these territories were included in his empire. But his kingdom centred round Punjab and his hold over Kabul was not strong. Rarity of his coins indicates a short reign period of 2 to 5 years so we may place him between A.D. 845-50.

Vakkadeva was succeeded by Sāmantadeva.[201] He is Sāmand of Al-beruṇi.[202] Sāmantadeva was ruler of some importance. His coins in large numbers are quite common in Kabul and Punjab.[203] Finds of Sāmantadeva's coins are known as well from different parts of the Europe,[204] which indicate the presence of an extensive trade with other countries. Arrangement of the coinage into three separate series by scholars, of which first have simple legend Samantadeva with better preservation of type, traces of Bactrian legend and of good alloy, the second with Visarganta, and the third issued in billon post-dating the king,[205] does not indicate twice reign period as is suggested by the scholars.

Mr. Macdowall divides mainly Sāmantadeva's coins into three series, as referred to above, the first with better preservation of type and traces of Bactrian legend and of good alloy (61 to 70 percent gold and silver content), the second with

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Visarganta legend, and the third billion issues post-dating the king.[206] Sāmanta-deva's two series of coins reveal a particular fact. The gold and silver content of the first series is greater than the second series. Second series contains only 25 per cent gold and silver.[207]

Kalhana referred to a famous Shahi ruler Lalliya whose kingdom extended on the one hand to the Turushkas and on the other to Daradas.[208] Kāśmīra formed one of its frontiers. He had friendly relation with Gurjara king Alakhana and others of North India.[209] Śankaravarman, who ruled in Kasmīra between 880-883 A.D.,[210] wanted to remove him from his throne.[210a] With this in mind he led an expedition against this Shahi king.[211] Śankaravarman's sudden death may be connected with this event.[212]

We already assign beginning of Sāmantadeva's reign period at about A.D. 850. Sāmantadeva's coinage suggests a longer reign period of at least 30 to 35 years. It also indicates that the king in question is a ruler of considerable importance and have extensive trade relations with kings in and outside India. Therefore, we can identify him with Lalliya. Lalliya was a sovereign of importance equally feared and loved by his friends and foe and had friendly relation with Alkhana, the Gurjara king and others of North-India. He held sway over Shahi kingdom in about 883 A.D. As already stated, Sāmantadeva's rule may began at about 850. If we assign him 30 to 35 years rule, we come to 885 A.D. So, it is not unlikely that Lalliya-Śāmantadeva ruled at least upto 883 A.D. Śankaravarman's expedition possibly came at the last period of his life. What is the outcome of this conflict we do not know. But Śankaravarman's sudden death at the hill of Urasā (Hazara) suggests that he faced reverses in this field.

Scholars on the basis of already mentioned first two series of coins and evi-dence of Kalhana proposed that Śāmantadeva ruled twice.[213]

Issue of same type of coins by the same king with little change in legend does not necessarily mean twice reign period. Use of Visargānta legend instead of simple Sāmantadeva legend shows on the contrary influence of Sanskrit. Hindu Shahis adopted and patronized Sanskrit and *Śā*radā script[214], instead of Bactrian and Pahlavi, which was used by the kings of this area in the previous centuries.[215] From now on Sanskrit and Gupta-Brahmi script, later on Sārada began to replace them. Visargānta legend indicates this growing influence of Sanskrit. Secondly, depreciation of gold and silver contents and enhancement of copper may be due to the poorer condition of the treasury at that period. As we already know, Hindu Shahis had to face serious reverses at the hands of Muslims at A.D. 870.[216] In A.D. 870 Yaqub-ibn-Laith captured parts of Kapiśa and Kabul from the Shahis who might be no other than Lalliya-Sāmantadeva himself and struck coins at Panjshir in 870-74 A.D.[217] It is interesting to note that a series of coins preserve the name of another ruler Khadavyaka who issued coins in bull and horseman type

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with the Arabic legend '*Adal*', conforming to the reformed dirham currency of the Arabs.[218] In the opinion of Mr. Macdowal,[219] this king might have been the governor or a tributary king belonging to the same dynasty appointed by Yaqub Laith to govern possibly Kabul-Panjshir area. With the Saffarid's involvement in Balkh and Bamian, they had very little time to pay attention to Kabul,[220] thus giving a chance to Sāmantadeva to recover his lost territory. Possibly, conflict with Muslims and the kings of Kāśmīra may cause serious strain on royal treasury which is indicated by the difference of gold and silver contents of the two series of coins. Sāmantadeva's coins become the prototype of other states of Northern India.[221] And many coins mostly billon as already stated are issued after his death.[222]

It is interesting to note in this connection, Gurjaras are mentioned by the Muslim chroniclers as the arch enemy of the Muslims.[223] Possibly for mutual protection against the Muslims and forces of Kāśmīra, Gurjaras and Shahis sought each other's alliance. Two states being contagious lends possibility to this suggestion. Shahis maintained friendly relation with Gurjara kings afterwards which was evidenced by the gift of Vishnu image by a Shahi king to Herambapala.[224] This Shahi chief of Kīra may be in all probability Bhimadeva.

It appears from the accounts of Kalhana that the Kasmir's conflict with Shahis became a long-drawn one. Possibly to avenge the defeat at the hands of Lalliya, another expedition was led by Prabhākaradeva, the Chief minister of Gopāla Varman, who claimed to have vanquished the Shahi ruler.[225] This Shahi ruler may be either Lalliya or his son. Kalhana even stated that Prabhakara, Chief Minister of Gopālavarman bestowed Shahi kingdom on Toramāna with the name Kamaluka.[226]

Al-beruni also referred to a Kamalu, after Samand.[227] This Kamaluka-Toramāṇa can be identified with Kamalu of Al-beruni. There is some doubt about his bestowal of kingdom on Kamaluka. Coins bearing the name Kamara has been assigned to this king.[228] According to Al-beruni he preceded Bhīma.[229] His statement seems to be corroborated by an inscription from De Wai which mentions the father of Bhimadeva as Kala-Varmadeva (Kamala-Varmadeva).[230] The Muslim historians referred to a king Kamalu as contemporary and opponent of Fardaghan, the governor of Zabulistan in the reign of Saffarid Amar-ibn Layth (879-900 A.D.).[231] Thus, this Kamalu is chronologically very near to Kamaluka-Toramana (about A.D. 902-904) of *Rājataraṅgiṇī and* may be the same person. In the opinion of R.C. Ray, "This involves a correction by a few years the date of Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-904) as given by Kalhana".[232]

However, it is quite clear from the Muslim source that 'Kamalavarman was already in power when the Saffarids penetrated the Shahi empire a second time *i.e.*, in or before 900 A.D.'.[233] "Information from the Muslim source completely rules

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out the probability of Kamalavarman's accession taking place after the date of the accession of Gopalavarman of Kāśmīra"[233a] So it seems that Prabhakaradeva's success over the Shahis is not so overwhelming as it appears to be from Kalhana's statement. It is not unlikely that the Shahi chief was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kashmir and paid tribute. This simple fact is narrated as reinstatement of the Shahi king to give credit to Prabhakaradeva.

The shortage of coins of Kamalavarman[234] indicates a shorter reign period. Reference to Sāmantadeva in the unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva[235] indicates that they were closely related to each other. Therefore, Bhīmadeva can not be placed long after 900 A.D. "Taking Kamaluka as a contemporary of Gopālavarman, we can suggest that his reign comes to an end not later than 905 A.D.".[235a]

It appears from the reference to Muslim attack in the *Jami-ul-Hikayat* that it only affected the north-western fringe of the Shahi kingdom. 'Fardaghan demolished the temple of Sakavanta'.[236] There is no indication of the march of the Muslims towards Kabel.

According to Al-beruṇi's list Kamalu was succeeded by Bhima.[237] The *Rajatarangini* calls him Bhīma Shahi.[238] Silver coins of Bhīmadeva bears the legend Śrī Bhīmadeva and Shahi Bhimadeva.[239] Dewai inscription refers to him as Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Śāhi-Bhīmadeva.[240] Alberuṇi's Bhīma, Kalhana's Bhīmashahi, Sri Bhimadeva, Sahi Bhīmadeva are one and the same person. This Shahi king was described in the *Rājataraṅginī* as the maternal grandfather of Kasmiri Queen Diddā, wife of Kshemagupta (A.D. 950-58).[241] Bhīmadeva maintained friendly relation with other countries including Khasas, and Kāśmīra. He gave in marriage his daughter to the Khasa chief of Siṁhapura (Lohara)[242] and his grand-daughter Diddā was bestowed on king of Kāśhmīra.[243] Bhīmadeva built a temple of Vishnu in Kāśmīra at the time of Diddā.[244] In this way he exerted considerable influence on the kings of these territories.

It appears from a reference to "the Shahi, king of Kīra",[245] in the Khajuraho inscription of Chandella Yaśovarman, that the Shahi chief made a gift of Vishnu image to Herambapāla, the Gurjara Pratihāra king, which he received from the king of Kīra, who received it from king of Bhoṭa or Tibet. As the date tallies with Bhīmadeva's reign, this king may be no other than Bhimadeva himself. Herambapāla has been identified with Mahipāla, the Gurjara king (A.D. 912-942 A.D.).[246] Rājaśekhara, who graced the court of Mahipāla and also that of his father, referred to his conquest of a number of countries including "Kulutas" and "Ramaṭhas".[247] Kuluta, modern Kulu valley, is contagious to Kira, *i.e.* Kangra valley. So it seems that there may be some sort of conflict between the two. The Shahi king renewed his friendship with Herambapala by making that gift.

Kalhana's reference to the building of a Vishnu temple in Kāśmīra by Bhīma-

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deva[248] shows his devotion to Vishnu, though his coins indicate his equal veneration for the cult of Dũrga, Śiva and possibly Buddha.[249]

The coins of Bhīmadeva, though small in number found from the Kabul area[250] prove his hold over that region. He used both bull and horseman type and elephant and lion type for silver and copper currency respectively.[251] One unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva is known.[252] On the obverse the king is represented as sitting on the throne, with a standing female figure to his right.[253] The king holds his right hand out as giving or receiving something from the female figure and his left hand in akimbo and on the reverse a male is portrayed in a kingly pose, sat on vetrāsana (wicker-seat).[254] The right hand is raised and the left hand akimbo resting on thigh. The female figure seated cross-legged on a lotus and holds a lotus and rājadaṇḍa in her hands.[255] The obverse has the legend Śāhi Śrī Bhīmadeva.[256] The legend on the reverse is taken to be 'Śrīmad Guṇanidhi . . . Śrī Sāmantadeva."[257] It seems from the description of the reverse device that the female figure seated on lotus holding a lotus and rājadaṇḍa is a goddess, possibly Śrī or Lakshmī. This device recalls similar device of Chandragupta Kumāradevi coins.[258] It also recalls the phrase mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions that Rājalakshmī selects him from her own accord.[259] It is possible that this same scene is portrayed here. Sāmantadeva was selected by the Rājalakshmī and Bhīmadeva received it from her. The coin legend shows that Sāmantadeva is closely related to Bhimadeva who commemorates him for a very special reason. It is not unlikely that after the recovery of his lands from the Muslims he commemorates Sāmantadeva.

The date of Bhīmadeva is controversial. Taking Diddă (950-58 A.D.) into account, Stein suggested that the date of Bhīmadeva cannot be pushed back beyond 920 A.D.[260] However, recent opinion would assign Bhīmadeva a date between A.D. 915 and 957.[261]

D

After Bhīmadeva, the next Shahi ruler mentioned by Kalhana is Thakkana.[262] During his rule, the relation between Kāśmīra and Shahi kingdom again become strained in the extreme.[263] According to Kalhana, Yaśodhara, Commander-in-chief of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972), son of Diddā, out of spite, together with his relatives undertook an expedition against the Shahi ruler Thakkana.[264] "Possessed of full energy, he rapidly invaded that country, which is difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains and captured Thakkana by force. He took tribute from that king who did homage, and watered afresh the creeper of fame with water sprinkled at the inauguration ceremony. At that time, Rakka and other wicked persons, who had access to the foolish queen stirred up enmity in her against the Commander-in-chief. ..... When they said in their conversation that he (Yaśodhara)

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was betraying [her] and that he had taken money for keeping Thakkana [on his throne], she took their slander for the truth."[265]

"Thereupon, when the Commender-in-chief swelled with glory, had reached his residence, Diddā dispatched staff-bearers with the evident intention of banishing him. When they heard of this insult, Himmaka, Eramantaka and others remembered what they had agreed upon under their oath by sacred libation (Kosa) and raised rebellion as before."[266] At one time the rebellious troops made it a precairous situation for Diddā, but she suppressed it with Naravāhan's help.[267]

Kalhana's above account leaves no doubt in mind about Yaśodhara's success against Shahi ruler. But his reinstatement on the Shahi throne caused the displeasure of Diddā and led to his subsequent rebellion and downfall, which was suppressed by Didda with the help of Naravāhana.

In the opinion of Stein, 'this Shahi king was a small chief in the neighbouring hill region claiming descent from the great Shahi family.'[268] H.C. Ray takes him to be a ruler whom 'Al-beruṇī perhaps failed to record in his list of the Hindu Shahi kings.'[269] Perhaps, he might be the Hindu Shahi king who ruled after Bhīmadeva between A.D. 958-59 to 963 A.D., the first known date of Jayapāla, according to Firishtah. What is his relation with Jayapāla and Bhīmadeva we donot know. He may be the son and successor of Bhīmadeva and father of Jayapāla, known as Ishtapāla according to Firishtah.[270]

In the opinion of Al-beruṇī the next king in question was Jayapāla.[271] He is none other than Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jayapāladeva of Barikot inscription.[272] No Shahi title is prefixed, though we have suggested that he was a grandson of Bhīmadeva. This is not unusual, as we know from Bhīmadeva's coin, he is mentioned simply as Śrī Bhīmadeva in coins.[273] It is possible that in this case also the Shahi title was dropped. Jayapāla is known only from the inscription[274] and Muslim chronicles.[275] No coin of Jayapāladeva has been found so far. It is a peculiar feature of the later Shahi group of kings. The last three rulers did not issue any coins in their own name. Probably the billon coins of Sāmantadeva post-dating the king,[276] may be attributed to last three chiefs. The coins show a gradual reduction of silver and gold contents which varies between 25 to 30 per cent.[277] Possibly the heavy strain on royal treasury forced this king to continue the earlier issues of Sāmantadeva in billon and his successors followed him.

First known date of Jayapāla was 963 A.D. When Sabuktigin marched upto Laghman in the life-time of Alaptagin who died in 963 A.D.[278] It is interesting to note in this connection that Zabul *i.e.*, Ghazni region and Panjshir came under the sway of Yaqub Laith in A.D. 870 as stated earlier.[279] He struck coins at Panjshir in A.D. 875 A.D.[280] But a reference to *Hudud ul Alam* to Panjshir as gateway of Hind (India)[281] indicates that his success was short lived. The Shahis

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possibly recovered Panjshir from them. But Yaqub retained his hold over Ghazni. His successor Amir and Abu Bakr continued to rule Ghazni after his death.[282] It is possible that the terms between rulers of Ghazni and the predecessors of Jayapāla are not of enmity but of friendship.

Unfortunately for Jayapāla and Amir Abu Bakr Lawick, Ghazni soon attracted the attention of Alaptigin, the governor of Balkh and commander in chief of Amir Abdul Malik, the Samanid king, over his troops of Khurasan.[283] On the death of his suzerain in 961 A.D., Alaptigin was involved in the struggle for succession.[284] He supported the cause of Abdul Malik's minor son against the claim of his brother Mansur and decided to led expedition to Bukhara.[285] He made an alliance with the governor of Tus. But Mansur, who ascended the throne and owed the allegiance of his people, soon alienated Alaptigin by granting him the position of Commander in Chief over the troops of Khurasan and ordered him to block the passage of enemy on the banks of the Oxus.[286] Though Alaptigin reached the banks of Oxus, he understood his dangerous position. He was surrounded by enemies on two sides. So setting fire to his encampment he retired to Balkh. With a view to establish him beyond the reach of his offending suzerain he attacked Ghazni and occupied the fort after four months seize and proclaimed himself king.[287] Amir Mansur did not leave him to rest in peace. Mansur sent two successive armies to punish him. But these armies met with disastrous defeats and forced Amir to came to terms with him by bestowing the governorship of the territories which Alaptigin conquered and occupied.[288]

Thus the kingdom of Ghazni was founded by Alaptigin at the cost of Abu Bakr Lawick's kingdom. Alaptigin died in A.D. 963, and was succeeded by his son Ishaq who was a weakling.[289] Taking the opportunity Abu Bakr Lawick invaded Ghazni and conquered it. Ishaq fled to the court of the Samanid king. He returned to Ghazni with a large army after one year and reconquered it.[290] But he died in the same year. So the nobles chose Bilaktigin, a former slave and trusted general of Alaptigin to rule. He ruled for ten years in peace and justice.[291]

After his death, Piritigin was chosen to succeed him, who was a cruel king.[292] The people of Zabul invited the son of its former ruler Abu Ali Lawick to recover his territories.[293] In this attempt, Abu Ali Lawick son of Abu Bakr, was helped by the Kabul Shah, *i.e.*, Jayapāla. Jayapāla sent a contingent under the leadership of his son.[294] But their attempt met with a desastrous end, and Abu Ali Lawick and the son of Kabul Shah were not only defeated but also captured and put to death by Sabuktigin, a former slave, son-in-law and a trusted general of Alaptigin.[295]

Piritigin's cruelty brought about his downfall in 976-77 A.D. So, Sabuktigin ascended the throne in 977 A.D.[296] With Sabuktigin's accession, the kingdom of Ghazni posed a grave threat to Jayapāla's empire. Sabuktigin's principal task

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was to wage war against the infidels.[297] So his main target became the Shahi kingdom.[298] So he repaired roads leading to India, through which he raided many times Jayapāla's territories between A.D. 977-986-7 A.D.[299] He captured many forts, looted properties and taken prisoners.[300] By a clever strategem Sabuktigin won over Jayapāla's ally Sheikh Hamid Lodi of Multan and maintained cordial relation with him upto his death.[301] Shortly after his accession, Sabuktigin added to his kingdom Bust, Dawar, Qusdur, Bamian, Tukharistan and Ghur.[302] Seeing the desolation of his territories Jayapāla accompanied by may chiefs and a vast army, led an expedition against Sabuktigin.[303] The two armies came face to face at a place near a hill called Ghuzak between Lamghan and Ghazni.[304] According to M. Nazim, this encounter took place in 986-87 A.D.[305] The battle was continued for several days without any side giving way.[306] According to Utbi, both sides sought for peaceful settlement.[307] But Jayapāla made the first move for peace.[308] But his attempt did not met with success. In the meantime a snow-storm caused havoc in the camp of Jayapāla and forced him to make peace in lieu of large tribute, ceding territories and a few forts.[309] Hostages were exchanged.[310]

After his safe return to his territories, Jayapāla did not act according to the condirions of the treaty and imprisoned the hostages.[311] This infuriated Sabuktigin so much that he immediately set out to punish the enemy with a large army.[312] According to Firishtah, Jayapāla was also prepared for a decisive battle.[313] He sought help from his allies. Kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar, and Kanauj supplied him with troops and money.[314] Reference to four capital cities seem to suggest that the Tomaras, Chahamanas, Chandellas and possibly Gurjaras sent contingents to aid Jayapāla. The kings of Bhatia also helped him.[315] But Sheikh Hamid Lodi, as stated above, already won over by Sabuktigin, stood aloof in this battle. The two armies came face to face on the confines of Lamghan.[316] A fierce onslaught took place. Jayapāla's troops could not withstand the repeated charge of Sabuktigin's cavalry on a particular point and gave way.[317] They fled in utter confusion.[318] Sabuktigin persuled the enemy and massacared the large Hindu army and got huge booties.[319] The region round Lamghan was included within Sabuktigin's empire as its result.[320] Islam was propagated.[321]

In the opinion of Firishtah, Bharata, king of Lahore rose in rebellion against Jayapāla after this defeat.[322] Anandapāla subdued him and reinstated him at the request of the nobles of the town.[323] His son Chandradatta deposed his father for his defeat and ascended the throne.[324] Ānandapāla imprisoned him by a clever strategem while he was hunting in a forest and annexed his state at about 999 A.D.[325]

Sabuktigin did not attack Shahi kingdom after this encounter as he was engaged in the Khurasan.[326] He died in Balkh frontier in 997 A.D.[327] He had

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four sons of whom Mohmud was the eldest and Ismail was the youngest.[328] Ismail ascended the throne after his father's death.[329] Mahmud deposed him and imprisoned him upto his death.[330] Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 998.[331] After securing the throne of Ghazni, Sultan Mahmud consolidated his position in Herat, Balkh and Bust.[332] He followed in his father's footsteps and chose holy war as his calling.[333] He directed greater portion of his efforts to destroy the idolators. He received the title Yamin-ud-Daula from the Caliph.[334] Mahmud already took part in his father's campaign against Jayapāla.[335] His first invasion of Jayapāla's territory took place in 1000 A.D.[336] When he raided the Shahi land and captured some forts possibly near Peshawar. In 1001 A.D. he invaded Shahi kingdom with 10,000 or 15,000 picked cavalrymen and encamped in the outskirts of Peshawar.[337]

Jayapāla faced this formidable challenge with 30,000 foot soldiers and 300 elephants.[338] He waited for further reinforcement and did not take direct action for sometime.[339] Mahmud realised the situation and attacked immediately.[340] A fierce battle took place in which victory favoured Sultan Mahmud.[341] "Jayapāla with fifteen of his sons, and brethren" were taken prisoner and '5,000' troops were slain in the battle field.[342] "Sultan Mahmud acquired great fame and wealth in this battle. Among the spoils of war were sixteen necklaces inlaid with jewels, one of which that belonged to Jayapāla was valued by jewellers at that time at 180,000 dinars."[343]

"After this victory Mahmud marched from Peshawar to Waihand and invested its fort and reduced it. A good deal of booty was taken. The whole region from Lamghan to Peshawar came under Sultan's occupation as its result."[344]

According to Firishtan, Jayapāla and his chiefs were released on payment of a large ransom.[345] From henceforth they stipulated to pay an annual tribute.[346] But Sultan Mahmud killed many of the Afghan chiefs who opposed him and took 5 lacs of men, women prisoners to Ghazni.[347] He introduced Islam in the occupied territory, built mosque and appointed teachers to teach rudiments of Islam to the new believers.[348] Then he returned to Ghazni.[349]

On his return to his kingdom Jayapāla considered himself unworthy of the throne on account of his three successive defeats at the hands of Muslim,[350] and possibly his contacts with the mlechchhas who were impure. So Jayapāla abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ānandapāla and immolated himself in a funeral pyre.[351]

Thus Jayapāla's reign came to an ignomeous end. Jayapāla was a very brave king and general. He faced the Muslim challenge with courage and fortitude. We was aware of the true nature of Muslim attack. If the account of Firishtah is to be believed he made alliance with other kings of North India and united them against the common enemy, *i.e.*, the Muslims. But he was unfortunate. His

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reliance 'on the elephant forces against cavalry may be a cause for his failure. Whatever, might be the cause he stood against the Muslim onrush with courage and great resolution. The large tribute paid by him to Sabuktigin and Sultan Mahmud in succession and the huge booty indicates as well-stocked royal treasury. Appointment of Ugrabhūti, a grammarian as the preceptor of Ānandapāla[352] indicates his patronage of learning. He equally contributed to the establishment of religious foundations. One devakula *i.e.*, shrine was established on Vajirasthāna (Hazara) during his reign.[353] He was the overlord of a considerable empire at the beginning of 963 A.D. as stated above. His empire included Bamian on the north, Kabul in the west, Kandahar on the south, upto Kangra in the east. At the close of his reign, he lost most of his territories on the west of Indus except Und and was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sultan Mahmud.

He was succeeded by his son Ānandapāla, to whom he wrote the last letter stating his desire to abdicate the throne and immolate himself on the funeral pyre.[354] Ānandapāla's first known date was 1006 A.D. when he came into conflict with Sultan Mahmud.[355] Possibly he ascended the throne shortly after Jayapāla's death.

When Ānandapāla came into power most of his territories on the west of Indus except Und were lost to Mahmud, still he was a formidable foe. He had at least two allies, the ruler of Bhatia and Abul Fatah Daud, grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi.[356] Daud realised at last the threat Sultan Mahmud posed to his state.[357] So he renewed his treaty with Anandapala for mutual protection. Firishtah's reference to kings of Kalanjara, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer who sent contingents to help Anandapala[358] suggests his cordial relationship with all these kings. He was a brave general.

On the other hand his opponent established his hold over Persia, Siestan and Khurasan and carried on war successfully with Samanids and Turks under Ilak Khan.[359] He was an equally brave and clever general and no mean opponent.

It seems from the accounts of Giridizi and Utbi[360] that the main obstacle which lay in the path of Sultan Mahmud's conquest of Hind was the Ānandapāla's kingdom, stretching from Waihand (Und) to Kangra. So to remove him, Sultan Mahmud attacked his friends and allies one by one. The king of Bhatia topped the list.[361] He molested Sultan Mahmud's governors of the occupied territories and defeated them several times.[362]

So in 1004 A.D. he decided to attack Bhatia.[363] He marched by way of Sibi and Hissar and reached Bhatia.[364] The king of Bhatia Bajirao was prepared for this fight.[365] A fierce battle ensued which was continued for three days and nights.[366] At last Bajirao's army was forced to seek shelter behind the rampart of the city.[367] Bajirao left the fort and retired to a forest.[368] The city was beseized

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and reduced by Sultan's army.[369] Mahmud sent troops in hot persuit of Bajirao when he heard about his flight.[370] They overtook the Bajirao shortly. In despair the king killed himself and his few soldiers fought to the last.[371] The Sultan gained a lot of plunder in this battle including 120 elephants and a great stock of arms and riches.[372] "He converted the inhabitants and built a number of mosques and appointed teachers for the new Muslims to teach them the commandments of the law and make the lawful and unlawful known to them. Thereafter he retired to Ghazni."[373]

Sultan Mahmud's next target became Daud, ruler of Multan who antagonised Mahmud by his acceptance of Ismaili sect and also by his terms with Ānandapāla.[374] The Sultan decided to make a surprise attack on Multan in 1006 A.D.[375] But the Indus at that time was in spate.[376] So crossing of the Indus proved a formidable task. He, therefore, requested Ānandapāla to give passage for his army through Ānandapāla's territory.[377] On Ānandapāla's refusal he directed his army to destroy Ānandapāla's kingdom.[378] His troops crossed the Indus in down-stream and attacked Ānandapāla and defeated and dispersed him.[379] Ānandapāla fled to the mountains of Kāśmira.[380] The conquered land was ravaged and many prisoners were taken.[381]

Thus, dispersing Ānandapāla, Mahmud marched to Multan and laid seize to it.[382] At his approach, Daud retired with his valuable to an island called Lanka.[383] The city fell to the hands of the Muslim after a contest.[384] The inhabitants agreed to pay 20,000 Dinaras in two instalments every year.[385] Mahmud returned to Ghazni in a hurry when he received news from Arslan Zanzib, governor of Herat about Ilak Khan's (king of Kashgar) invasion.[386] "He instantly repaired to Ghazni having placed the management of affairs of the occupied territories in the hands of Sukhapāla or Nawasa Shah, grandson of Jayapāla who had fallen into the hands of Abu Ali Sanjur at Nishapur and had been converted to Islam."[387] According to Al-beruṇī, Ānandapāla offered to send contingent to Mahmud in his time of stress.[388] Al-beruṇī praised his noble sentiment.[389] But it may be a mere ruse. Or it may be caused by the terms of the peace treaty. As we know from it, the Shahi king had to supply Sultan Mahmud with 2,000 troops and presents and also tribute every year.[390]

Any way, on receiving news about Sukhapāla's activities, Sultan Mahmud returned to the Shahi kingdom in all haste.[391] Sukhapāla in the meantime abjured his religion and held talk with Brahmins with a view to return to his former faith.[392] Sultan Mahmud took it to be a grave offence and marched with lightening speed to punish the offender.[393] He attacked Sukhapala, defeated and captured his capital.[394] Sukhapāla was forced to pay 400,000 dinaras and was imprisoned for life.[395]

Thus Mahmud singled out Ānandapāla. In 1008-09 A.D. he led an

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expedition to punish Ānandapāla for his supporting the cause of Daud.[396] Ānandapāla's son Brahmanpāla met him on the banks of the river of Waihand (*i.e.* Sind) with innumerable host of black soldiers with white swords, bluish spears, rosy helmets and grey elephants.[397] After a fierced engagement Brahmanpāla's army was compelled to flee from their entrenched position.[398] The Sultan's followers began to slaughter the enemies wherever, they found them."[399] Sultan Mahmud drove him from one place to another till he reached the fort of Bhimanagara.[400] This fort was situated on a high mountain surrounded by water.[401] Here treasures of every sort were deposited by kings of India through the ages.[402] Mahmud beseized it for three days.[403] In the end, he succeeded in entering the fort with some of his companions afterwards.[404] "Gold, silver and diamonds that had been accumulated" there, fell into his hands. Booty beyond counting fell into Mahmud's hand,[405] including a house of gold and silver.[406] The booty was displayed at Ghazni for the people to stare at.[407] He appointed one trustworthy officer to guard the fort,[408] which he possibly could not hold under his control for long. But, it seems from his subsequent invasion of territories, situated within the interior of India that he annexed all the territories on the west bank of Indus.

In 1009 A.D. Mahmud led an attack on the king of Narayana.[409] In the opinion of Muslim historians this place was situated in the heart of Hind, on the main thoroughfare leading to Mid-India.[410] Nārāyan has been identified with Narayanapur in the old Alwar State, Rajputana by Cunningham.[411] The king of Nārāyana was a vassal of Ānandapāla.[412] Ānandapāla came to the rescue of his vassal. But he was defeated.[412a] Moreover, its situation on way to Mid-India is strategically important. As referred to above Mahmud wanted to invade the interior of India.[413] But the Shahi kingdom acted as a buffer between Ghazni and Mid-India. Moreover, the principal highway leading to the heart of India ran through the territories of Ānandapāla. So he tried to find out another alternative through Multan which initiated this attack and subsequent defeat of the king of Nārāyana.[414]

In the latter part of A.D. 1010 Mahmud again led an expedition against Daud, the king of Multan who had turned hostile again.[415] The popularity of Ismaili sect was also increasing. The Sultan killed a large number of the hereties and took Daud prisoner and re-established his authority over that country.[416]

Seeing these successive defeats of at least his one time ally, Ānandapāla realised the precarious situation and futility of his opposition to Sultan Mahmud.[417] He, therefore, came to terms with the Sultan on condition that he would pay a large tribute every year equal to the value of the profit of his territories and plunder of his cities.[418] He would sent 50 elephants and 2000 armed and skilled men for military purposes.[419] In return, the Sultan promised not to invade his kingdom, not to burn, or lay waste to his territories.[420] Both parties strictly followed the conditions of the treaty.[421] The relation between the two kings became so cordial

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that trade was resumed.[422] The caravan between Hind and Khorasan travelled without molestation.[423]

Though the Sultan made an alliance with Ānandapāla he did not give up his project to invade Hind every year. His next target was Thaneswar which possessed elephants of Ceylon breed, very useful in warfare.[424] The idol temple in Thaneswar was highly venerated by the kafirs.[425] In A.D. 1012 Mahmud started from Ghazni with a view to conquer and plunder Thaneswar.[426] Ānandapāla true to his treaty gave passage to Mahmud's army through his kingdom, but requested him not to destroy that sacred city.[427] Ānandapāla offered an adequate compensation for this.[428] The Sultan did not pay any attention to his proposal and marched towards Thaneswar.[429] He was opposed by Rāma, chief of Dera, on his way to Thaneswar on the bank of a river.[430] However, he was defeated and the Sultan continued his march.[431] As Thaneswar formed a part of the kingdom of Delhi, Raja of Delhi sent messengers to invite other kings for help.[432] While preparation was going on, the Sultan reached Thaneswar, captured that city and plundered it.[433] He wanted to invade Delhi but gave up his project for fear of Ānandapāla on whom he could not fully rely.[434] So, he returned to Ghazni through Shahi kingdom, receiving due hospitality from the Shahi king.[435] Ānandapāla died between 1012-15 A.D.[436]

Thus, Ānandapāla's reign was equally full of battle and hardship. According to Utbi he was a skilled swordsman, brave general and imposing ruler.[437] Al-beruṇī praised him for his noble sentiment.[438] He was true to his words and tried to help his friends. Like his father, he patronised learning.[439] His kingdom included at least Und, Lahore, Salt Range and Kangra valley when he inherited it from his father with a number of friends and allies. But the account of the Muslim chronicles revealed that Mahmud not only drove him east of Indus, but compelled him to pay tribute. He systematically destroyed the allies of Ānandapāla in the neighbouring regions one after another. The king of Bhatia and Multan were his friends. The chief of Nārāyana was a vassal. By defeating all these kings Mahmud singled him out from his allies and vassals and forced him to submit. Anandapala was succeeded by his son Trilochanapala.

The peace treaty with Ānandapāla gave Sultan Mahmud at least freedom of movement. But it also caused some inconvenience. We already noted that he gave up the idea of conquest of Delhi for the fear of Anandapala.[440] So, to remove the thorn altogether Sultan Mahmud led another expedition against the Shahis now settled in Nandana in the Salt Range in A.D. 1014.[441] Trilochanapāla was unprepared for this sudden attack.[442] But he tried to defend his fort by sending tried veterans to guard the fort and invited his allies and friends from all quarters to join him in this battle.[443] According to Utbi, the king of Hindustan *i.e.* Trilochanapāla sought the safety of mountains.[444] He stationed his army on a mountain pass behind rocks.[445] The Sultan tried to dislodge

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him from his perch by sending shower of arrows.[446] When he received help from others he came out in the open to give battle, resting his rear and two flanks on mountains.[447] A furious onslaught took place. Though the allied forces contested every inch of the ground, they were ultimately defeated with great slaughter.[448] After that the fort of Nandanā was invested.[449] Trilochanapāla, himself left for the passes in Kāśmīra.[450] The army losing heart, surrendered it after a few days seize.[451] The Sultan collected much spoils of war from this fort and left the fort in charge of Sharugh.[452]

Mahmud chased him upto Kāśmīra hills.[453] From Girdizi's reference to a victory achieved by Sultan Mahmud's army and their pillage of the passes leading to Kāśmīra[454] and also from Kalhana's account of Tungh and Trilochanapāla's encounter with the Muslims,[455] it appear that they refer to the same event. Sultan Mahmud's invasion of Kāśmīra took place in 1015 A.D.[455a] As referred to above, Trilochanapāla sought help from Saṅgrāmarāja, the king of Kāśmīra (A.D. 1003-28), when Sultan Mahmud invaded Nandanā in 1014 A.D.[456] After the fall of the fort the Shahi king took refuge on the mountain's of Kāśmīra's frontier.[457] Saṅgrāmarāja sent a large contingent under the leadership of Tunga[458] who joined Trilochanapāla here. Tunga easily won a victory over a small force sent by the Sultan on reconneissance mission.[459] He became over-confident and came out in the open to give battle.[460] Trilochanapāla was thus forced to take the field. The joint army though displayed much valur, was ultimately routed.[461] Trilochanapāla retired from the field.[462] Mahmud won this victory in 1015 A.D. He plundered the frontiers of Kāśmīra valley, took many captives and converted some to Islam and returned to Ghazni with spoils of war.[463]

In 1016 A.D. the Sultan decided to attack Kāśmīra.[464] When he reached the pass where the fortress of Lohkot was situated, he besiezed it.[465] But winter set in with a heavy snowfall.[466] He was compelled to withdraw the seize and 'sought safety in retirement'.[467] He returned to Ghazni in spring.[468]

Thus by breaking the stronghold of Trilochanapāla, Mahmud now prepared the ground for his repeated attacks into interior of India. According to Kalhana, Trilochanapāla tried to regain the fallen fortunes of his family even after his two successive defeats.[469] Sultan Mahmud's different raids may be connected with this attempt. In 409 A.H. (A.D. 1018) the Sultan decided to invade Kanauj.[470] According to Firishtah, he was one of the kings who sent troops in the aid of Jayapāla and Ānandapāla as referred to above.[471] The king of Kanauj was no other than the contemporary Gurjara Pratihāra king himself, an alley of the Turkish and Hindu Shahis throughout their eventfull reigns. Though, their power was now in the wane, and became the shadow of their former glory and limited to a stretch of territory still they might have sent troops to help the Shahis. In 1018 A.D. the Sultan marched from Ghazni towards Kanauj with a vast army and

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crossed the seven rivers on his way towards Kanauj.[472] The chiefs of the states through which passed submitted to him.[473] Janki, son of Shahi, grandson of Bamhi, was controlled the southern passes leading into Kāśmīra, submitted to him and offered to act as a guide.[474] As Trilochanapāla's dominion on the eastern bank of the Indus came under the Sultan's possession as a result of his earlier defeat, he tried to revive his power in the eastern Punjab. As referred to above Kalhana stated that Trilochanapāla displayed great resolution even after he had fallen from his position and relying on his elephant forces tried to revive his power as already referred to above.[475] According to Girdizi, Trilochanapāla came to terms with Nanda who tried to re-establish him on his empire.[476] Trilochanapāla at that time was involved in a conflict with the king of Sharoa, *i.e.*, Sharva.[477] Cunningham identified it with Sirsawa to the east of the Yamuna, near Shaharanpur.[478] From the time of Jayapāla the two kingdoms were hostile to each other.[479] These two opponents fought many battled with disastrous consequences.[480] "At last both were compelled to sue for peace to avoid bloodshed on both sides"[481] For lasting peace Trilochanapāla married his son to the daughter of Chand Rai, king of Sharoa.[482] So the enmity between the two came to an end.[483] "Relying on their matrimonial relation, trusting to the prevailing peace and coming together of their two families' states, Trilochanapāla sent his son to Chand Rai",[484] possibly for further aid. "But the moment his son-in-law fell into his (Chand Rai's) hands, he made him a prisoner and put him in chains.[485] He demanded from him the restitution of property which has been destroyed by his father.[486] Trilochanapāla failed in reducing Chand Rai's fort, in conquering his territories or getting his son released from his prison. The feud continued."[487]

In the meanwhile Sultan Mahmud appeared on the scene.[488] On his approach Trilochanapāla fled to the kingdom of Bhima, Paramara king of Malava.[489] The Sultan continued his journey through jungles and forests and at last reached Baran, modern Bulandshar in U.P.[490] The king Hardat ran away from Bulandshar leaving his tribesmen to guard the fort.[491] The garrison losing heart, bought peace by paying 1,000,00 dirhams and 30 elephants.[492] From here, he advanced on Mahaban, on the Yamuna.[493] According to the Muslim chronologists, Kulchand, king of Mahaban was a ruler of considerable importance.[494] As soon as Mahmud invested Mahaban, Kulchand left it and took refuge to a fort in a dense forest and kept everything ready for battle.[495] The Sultan after a careful search discovered his hide out and attacked him.[496] "A hand to hand fight with swords and spears between the two armies" took place.[497] The Hindus having failed to defend their position, jumped into the Yamuna and tried to cross it".[498] But most of them were drowned in the river. Kulchand, finding no other way to escape killed his wife at first and then killed himself.[499] The Sultan secured a large booty together with 185 war elephants.[500] Then he attacked Mathura.[501] Though the city belonged to the king of Delhi, he entered it without much opposition, plundered, destroyed it,

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and secured huge spoils of war.[502] From here he marched to Kanauj.[503] On his approach Rajyapala, the Gurjara king of Kanauj, retired to Bari.[504] Kanauj fell easily to his hands in the absence of any strong opposition. Mahmud next invaded Munj.[505] Munj has been identified by some with Munjhawan, 10 miles south of Kanpur and by others with the place of this name 14 miles north-east of Etawah.[506] It was known as the fort of the Brahmanas.[507] The garrison resisted the invader for 25 days.[508] Realising the futility of their attempt to defend them any longer, a large number of them preferred death than dishonour.[509] A large number of them threw themselves in the fire with their wives and children and some of them jumped to death from the battlements of the fort and others sailled forth from the fort and fell fighting with the enemies.[509a] It was eventfully found that no single soul survived in the fort.[510] Mahmud took possession of all the valuables of the fort and then advanced towards Asi, Asi is identified with modern Asni, 10 miles north-east from Fatehpur.[511] Its ruler Chandrapāl Bhur, renowned in India for his victories in several wars did not like to face the invader and ran away from here.[512] At the Sultan's order the fort was plundered and demolished and the inhabitants were put to death.[513]

Next, he directed his army to attack Sharva, modern Sirsawa in U.P.[514] Chand Rai, the chief of this state was equally well known in India, prepared for the fight.[515] On the advice of Bhimapala, his son-in-law, he fled from the fort on the Sultan's approach and took shelter in a lofty hill, and hide himself in a thick forest.[516] The Sultan plundered the fort of Sharva, then pushed his way through the jungle, overtook Chand Rai by night.[517] The forces of Chand Rai were routed and Sultan got huge spoils of war and large number of prisoners as its result.[518] This victory over Chand Rai took in January, A.D. 1019.[519] The Sultan returned to Ghazni from here.[520]

Bhimapāla probably escaped from the prison taking this opportunity. Trilochanapāla got a brief respite after this invasion. But he could not enjoy it for long. As referred to above Ganda, *i.e.*, the Chandella king Vidyādhara tried to aid Trilochanapāla to re-establish his hold over his empire.[521] Moreover, Chandella king, Vidyādhara killed Rājyapāla, who submitted to Mahmud after the fall of Kanauj.[522] So, in A.D. 1020-21 Sultan Mahmud again invaded India to chastice Vidyādhara for his conduct with a vast army.[523] He was oppossed on the bank of the Rahiba by Trilochanapāla. The Rahib may either Ravi or Yamuna. Mahmud found the river difficult to cross.[524] Because the river was very deep and its bottom was full of mud. But he ordered eight men to cross the river in inflated skins.[525] Trilochanapāla sent a small contingent to oppose their landing.[526] But these men were able to cross the river and forced their way through the enemies by showering arrows.[527] The troops of Sultan Mahmud were inspired by their valour and courage, crossed the river in inflated skins and attacked the enemy.[528] Trilochanapāla joined the fray with all his forces.[529] The Hindoos fought fiercely, but were

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ultimately routed.[530] Trilochanapāla fled from the field.[531] Many Hindoos lost their lives in this encounter and 270 elephants fell to the Sultan's hands.[532] Sultan Mahmud reached Bari and raged it to the grounds.[533] He now advanced to punish Vidyādhara, an ally of Trilochanapāla.[534] Innumerable forces of Chandella king struck terror in his heart.[535] But Vidyādhara's sudden disappearance from the field led to the looting of the camp and then he repaired to his country.[536] But his subsequent invasion of Lohkot in the same year may be connected with the event.[537] But the Sultan could not succeed in capturing Lohkot and forced to raise the size and retired to Ghazni.[538] He, again invaded the territories of Chandella king in 1021-22 A.D.[539] He first attacked the fortress of Gwalior and compelled its king to submit to him.[540] Then he invested the fort of Kalañjara.[541] The seize had continued for a long time. At last Vidyādhara sent an emissary with a proposal to raise the seize.[542] Vidyādhara proposed to give him a present of 300 elephants and other valuables for this.[543] Mahmud consented to this proposal.[544] To test the bravery of Turkish soldiers, Vidyādhara ordered to let loose the elephants without riders outside the Gate of the fort.[545] At the command of Sultan Mahmud, his soldiers not only brought them under control, but mounted them.[546] Vidyādhara was so amazed at this bold feat that he wrote a poem praising this incident and sent it to the Sultan.[547] The Sultan reciprocated this gesture by bestowing on him 15 fortresses.[548]

The narrative appears to be peculiar. Because Mahmud so far attacked, destroyed the prosperity of the cities of idolators one after another, he did not show any act of marcy to those who fell to his hands. So, in this case, it is possible that he did not fare so well in this encounter with the Chandella king and made peace by ceding 15 forts instead.

As stated above, Al-beruṇī recorded that Trilochanapāla was killed in 1021 A.D. and his son Bhimapāla 5 years later.[549] It is not unlikely that Chandella king tried to help Bhimapāla. Mahmud therefore, came to destroy the last stronghold of the Shahis. But making the peace move the Sultan tried to neutralize that ally also. Nothing is known about Bhimapāla except that he was fearless and brave man and married the daughter of king of Sharoa.[550] At the present state of our knowledge, we do not know if he ruled at all or not. As referred to above his death in 1026-27 A.D.[551] may be connected with Sultan Mahmud's Somnath expedition. With his death political power of the dynasty of Hindu Shahis came to an end. Though a few of them Diddapala, Anangapala, Rudrapala took refuge in Kāśmira court and received favour from Kāśmīra king and displayed valour, they met their death not long afterwards.[552] Thus, the dynasty of the Hindu Shahis came to an end. The Turkish Shahis bravely resisted Muslims from the very outset of their onrush to Khurasan and the Hindu Shahis overtook the task from them and successfully held them in check till the beginning of the 11th century A.D. for more than 400 years. It was no mean task. The collapse of their power

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made a deep impression upon Al-beruṇī and Kalhana equally. Al-beruṇī remarked with a note of pathos : "The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnants in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."[553] Kalhana expressed his surprise and sorrow over the vanishing glory of the Shahis : "I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Shahis has vanished even [down to their very] name, this being only an incident. Nothing is impossible to Fate. It effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach. That Shahi kingdom whose greatness on earth has above been briefly indicated in the account of king Śankaravarman's reign—now one asks oneself whether with its kings, ministers and its court it ever was or was not."[554]

Notes and References

1. See Introduction.
2. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 11.

   The '*Life*', however, recorded that "in the third year and the eighth month of the period of Cheng Kwan (A.D. 630) he was prepared to make a start."—*Life*, Book I, p. 31.
3. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 44-115; *Life*', Book II, pp. 35-53.
4. *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 49-54; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 114-122.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 122-130, 180-181, 198-224; '*Life*', Book II, pp. 57-64, 67-68f.
6. *Ibid.*, Book II-V, pp. 67-194; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 240-401; Vol. II, pp. 266-268.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-401, Vol. II, pp. 1-266; *She-kia Fang-chi*, Book IV; '*Life*', Book I, II, III, V and rest.
8. *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 54-64; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-130, 180-181, 181-198, 198-224; Vol. II, pp. 262-266; Bagchi, op. cit., Book IV.
9. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 39-115; '*Life*', Book I, II, pp. 13-53.
10. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 45-66; '*Life*', Book I & II, pp. 11-40.
11. *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 40-51; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 68-115, Vol. II, pp. 266-277.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 45-66, 115-122, Vol. II, pp. 277ff.; '*Life*', Book II, pp. 51-54.
13. *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 54-64; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123.
14. *Ibid.*, also see the Chapter on Geographical Background.
15. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123; *Life*, Book II, p. 54.
16. See note 49, 70, 78, 95 in the Chapter on the Geographical Background.
17. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 240; *Life*, Book II, p. 67; also see Chapter on Geographical Background, Note 124a.
18. *Ibid.*; *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 240.
19. *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 262; *Life*, Book V, p. 193.
20. *Life*, Book V, pp. 192-193.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 56; *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 181, 183, 199.
24. *Ibid.*

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25. As on note 22 above.
26. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 276-287, Pl. VII, Figs, 1-18, Pl. VIII, Figs. 1-17.
G. Buhler, the New Inscription of Toramana Shah, *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, pp. 238-241; A.D.H. Biver, the Inscriptions of Uruzagan, *JRAS*, pp. 112-118; *Harsha*, Ch. IV, p. 1, Ch. V, p. 1.
27. M.K. Dhavilkar, A Note on Two Ganesa Sculptures from Afghanistan, *E. & W. N.S.*, Vol. 2, No. 34 (Sept.-Dec., 1971), pp. 31-340.
28. *Tabari*, 5, 346; *Baladhuri*, pp. 388, 403-07, 408-414, 418-421, Pt. XIX, pp. 163-189.
29. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 287, pl. IX, Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; p. 288, pl. IX, Nos. 23, 24, Pl. X, 1, 2, 3; R. Ĝ'hershman, *Le Chionites Hepthalites*, Paris, 1948, p. 23, pl. III, No. 2.
30. Dr. B.N. Mukherjee's paper on the coin will be published shortly.
31. *Ibid.*
32. R. Gihershman, *Les Chionites Hepthalites*, Paris, 1948, p. 23, pl. III, No. 2.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. R. G'hershman, *Les Chionites Hepthalites* (MD. AFA. XXII), Le Caire, 1948, pp. 52, 111.
36. See note 31 and also R. Göbl, *Documente Zur Geschite Der Iranischen Hunen In Bactrien und Indien*, Weisbaden, 1967, Vol. III, pl. 43, f. See also M. Mitchiner, "Who were Napki Malik ? *E.W.N.S.*, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1975), pp. 167-174.
37. A. Remusat, *Nouvelang*, *Melanges Asiatiques*, I, 211, and also see note 30 above.
38. *Ibid.*
39. As on note 28 above.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Habibi, *Afghanistan*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, 1972, p. 6.
42. *Baladhuri*, *op. cit.*, 388; *Tabari*, op. cit., 5, 346.
43. *Baladhuri*, 388.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. G'hershman, op cit., p. 24.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Habibi, op. cit., p. 5.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid*; *Tabari*, 5, 186; *Al Kamil*, 4, 240.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Tabari*, 5, 218-229.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Tabari*, 5, 225.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*

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67. Tabari, 5, 225.
68. Chavennes, op. cit.; *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 221a and b, 12; Chavannes. pp. 130-131f.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*; the *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 221b, p. 5a; Chavannes, p. 161.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 161—"The country of Zabulistan and Bamian is bordered on the east by Ki-pin. The population of this kingdom consists of Turks, people of Ki-pin and Tokharistan".
73. As on note 68 above.
74. As on note 42, 49, 52, 59 above.
75. *Ibid.*; Muir, *The Caliphate: Its Rise Decline And Fall*, pp. 363-564.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. As on note 68 above.
80. Chavannes, op. cit.—the *T'ang Shu*, 779, p. 14; Chavannes, p. 200.

"In the 6th year of K'ai yuen (718) the Chinese emperor was informed by A-che-tegin Pou-lo (junior brother of the king of Tokharistan), that the Jabgu of T'okholu (Tokharistan) had under his command an assembly of kings of various kingdoms, governors and prefects. Among them was the king of Ki-pin commanding two hundred thousand soldiers and cavalries.

81. As on note 37 above.
82. Chavannes, op. cit.—the *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 221a and b. 12; Chavannes, pp. 130-31.

"In the 7th year of the period of K'ai-yuen (719 A.D.) Ki-pin sent an ambassador with offering of an astronomical text. The emperor confirmed on the king of Ki-pin the title Ko-le-ta-che T'e-kin (Tigin of Arrokhadj—Ka-lo-ta-che or Ho-ta-lache denoted Arrokhadj or Zabulistan). This country submitted to Kapisa after 711 A.D."

83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid* , p. 132, note 1; Chavannes, p. 161, note 1.
87. *Ibid.*—the *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 221b; Chavannes, pp. 131-132.
88. *Ibid.*, Chavannes, pp. 132-33, 162-63.
89. *Ibid.*—the *T'ang-Shu*, Ch. 198, p. 10.
90. *Later Indo-Scythian*, p. 289, No. 5, pl. X. No. 5, pp. 291-92, Pl. X, No. 9; *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140, Vol. III, pl. 46, Nos. a-f.
91. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 289, No. 5, Pl. X, No. 5; pp. 291-92, Pl. X, No. 9.
92. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140, Vol. III, pl. 56, Nos. a-f.
93. Dr. Mukherjee deciphers the legend from Cunningham's *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 289, No. 5, Pl. X, No. 5, pp. 291-292; pl. X, No. 9.
94. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140, Vol. III, pl. 46, Nos. 1f.
95. Dr. B.N. Mukherjee's paper on relevant coins will be published shortly.
96. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140.
97. *Ibid.*
98. As on note 95 above.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 141, Vol. III, pl. 46, No. 1. Compare Gobl, Vol. III, pl. 56. Nos. 7 and 9 of 206 with No. 101, 207.

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102. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 141, Vol. III, pl. 40, No. 1 may doubtfully be attributed to the above ruler, on similarity in busts. *Göbl*, Vol. III, pl. 56, 7, 49; of 20G, No. 101, 209; WSZ.
103. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 10.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
105. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 112-119, p. I, figs. 1-12, 16-18.
106. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 107, note 1.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, Vol. I, pp. LXXIVf.; H. Sastri, *EI*, Vol. XX, 1929-30, p. 41.
110. *Baladhuri*, pp. 423-24, pl. XIX, Ch. VI, pp 190-194.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
112. *Ibid.*; Muir, *The Caliphate Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, pp. 377-385.
113. *Baladhuri*, pp. 199-202; also see Muir, op. cit., p. 388.
114. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras, 1939, pp. 116-17. Mr. Sastri translated passages from Chavannes' *Notes Aditionelles Sur les Tou-ki, etc.* (Turks) *Occidentaux*, *Tung Pao* II, 5, pp. 1-110 and *JASB*, VI, p. 4 for Ma-Twan-lin.
114a. S. Levi and E. Chavannes, '*L' Itineraire d'ou-K'ong*', *J.A.*, 1895, pp. 337ff, English trans. *Itenerary of Ou-K'ong*, *Calcutta Review*, August-September, 1922, pp. 193-489f.; Dr. Mukherjee translated the relevant passages.
115. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 291, pl. X, Nos. 7, 10, N.C., 1893, pl. X, No. 7. 10; *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 146, Vol. III, pl. 51, no. 214.
116. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 291, pl. X, No. 9; *Gobl*, Vol. I, p. 142, Vol. III, pl. 47, No. 208; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 145, Vol. III, pl. 47, No. 210.
117. See note 89 above. D.V. Chauhan in an article "Lawikan Ghazana (*BORI, Diamond Jubilee Vol.* 1978, pp. 519-24) proposed that Lawiks were descendants of kings of Zabulistan who accepted Islam. But this is only a theory of present and cannot be proved conclusively.
118. See note 89 above.
119. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 146, Vol. III, pl. 51, No. 211; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. X, No. 10.
120. *Göbl*, p. 146, Vol. III, pl. 51, Nos. 214 and 211.
121. The Pahlavi legend is reconstituted by Dr. Mukherjee on the basis of Gobl's Coin No. 211 (Vol. III, pl. 51, No. 211).
122. Later part of the Pahlavi legend has been reconstituted on the basis of several other coins (*Göbl*, Vol. III, pl. 51, No. 214).
123. *Ibid.*, and also see note 95 above. Dr. Mukherjee deciphers the coins of Vasudeva, Tigina Shaho and Vahi on the basis of Göbl and Cunningham's plates.
124. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 150; Vol. III, 51. No. 216a.
125. *Ibid.*, and also see note 95 above.
126. *Ibid.*
127. *N.C.*, 1893, pl. X, No. 10.
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*, p. 290, pl. X, No. 7.
130. Chavannes, op. cit.—*T'ang Shu*, Ch. 22Ib; Chavannes, pp. 162-63.
131. As on note 114a above.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*
133a. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid*
134a. *Ibid.*

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135. Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 162-63.
136. As on note 115 and 116 above.
137. As on note 116 above.
138. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 291, pl. X, No. 9.
139. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 142; Vol. III, Pl. 47. No. 208.
140. See note 95 above.
141. As on note 138 above.
142. See note 139 above.
143. For Dr. Mukherjee's reading see note 95 above.
144. See note 138 above.
145. As on note 139 above.
146. As on note 95 above.
147. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 145, Vol. III, pl. 47, No. 210.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 240; As on note 17 above.
150. *Rāj.* Book IV, V.142-43, p. 131.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, IV. V.126-371.
153. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV. Sl. 167, p. 137.
154. *Gauḍavaho*, ed. by S.P. Pandit, BSS, 1927, *Kulaka*, 431-439; relevant passages are translated by Dr. R.C. Majumdar in the *Classical Age*, p. 129.
155. *Baladhuri*, Vol. II, Ch. XIV, 336, pp. 41-44, Ch. XVIII, 414-417, Ch. III, pp. 176-181, Ch. IV, pp, 418, 182-185, Ch. VI, pp. 423-427, 191-197, Ch. VIII, pp. 428-429, 199-201; see also Muir, op. cit., London, 1898. Reprint, 1963, Ch. LV, p. 395, Ch. LVII, LVIII, pp. 393-437.
156. *Ibid.*, Ch. LIX, pp. 435-437; also *Baladhuri*, Vol. I & II.
157. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 427-428, 429, Ch. VI, pp. 196-97; Ch., VII, pp. 198-202; Muir, op. cit., 436-437, 445-451, 488.
158. As on note 155; also *Ibid.*, LXI, 448 ff.
159. *Baladhuri*, Vol. II, 428, Ch. VII, p. 200; Muir, p. 404.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 428-430, Pt. XIX, Ch. VII, pp. 200-202, Ch. VIII, pp. 203-206.
162. K.V. Ramesh, A Fragmentary Sarda Inscription From Hund, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II, 1969, pp. 94-98.
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid.*, p. 97, V. 3.
165. M. Monier William, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 451.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 639.
167. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., p. 94.
168. *Ibid*.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
170. *Ibid.*
171. *Baladhuri*, pp. 443-446, pl. XX, Ch. IV, pp. 230-231.
172. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231; Sharma, *Studies in Mid. Ind. Hist.*, p. 53.
173. *Baladhuri*, pp. 230-231; Sharma, op. cit., pp. 35, 38ff.
174. *Baladhuri*, p. 231; Sharma, op. cit., pp. 25, 41.
175. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 43; and also see *Baladhuri*, Pt. XVIII, pp. 396-397, 146, 147; Pt. XXI, Ch. VII, pp. 226, 442.
176. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, XIX, XX.
177. Dr. M.A. Ghafoor, Two Lost Inscriptions Relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and the North-West Region of West Pakistan, Ancient Pakistan, Vol. II, 1965-68, p. 4ff.

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178. Dr. M.A. Ghafoor, Two Lost Inscriptions Relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and the North-West Region of West Pakistan, Ancient Pakistan, Vol. II, 1965-68, p. 6 ff.
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*
182. *Baladhuri*, pt. XVIII, 401, p. 155; Pt. XIX, 430, p. 203.
183. *Ibid.*
184. *Ibid.*
185. Dr. Ghafoor, op. cit.
186. *Ibid.* The two inscriptions are quoted in the *Akhbar Makka* by its author. But the originals were destroyed when Kaba was engulfed in fire as a result of the war between two claimants for the Caliphate.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
188. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
190. *Ibid.*
191. *Ibid.*
192. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 63; D.W. Macdowal, the Shahis of Kabul And Gandhara (Pl. XVII-XIX), N.C. Seventh Series, Vol. VIII, London, 1968, p. 189 ff.; V.S. Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, i, 243ff.; L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin Types of Northern India*, 1966.
193. R.W. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum* i. pl. VII-VIII, XII-XIII, XV; G'ershman, op. cit., 37f.; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII, 2.
194. D.W. Macdowal, op. cit., pp. 189-206.
195. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-12.
196. *Ibid.*
197. *Ibid.*
198. As on notes 177, 178 and 182 above.
199. As on note 194. pp. 217, 218, Pl. XIX, Nos. 34-40. *Coins of Medieval* India, p. 63, pl. VII. Nos. 2, 4.
200. Macdowal, op. cit., p. 191.
201. As on note 194; *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 64, pl. VII, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
202. *Sachau*, op. cit., p. 10 ff.
203. See note 194, pl. 191 ff.
204. A.A. Bycov, Finds of Indian Medieval Coins in East Europe, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pt. II, 1965, pp. 146-156.
205. See note 194, pp. 189-211; D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of the Afghanistan And the Punjab*, p. 86.
206. D.W. Macdowall, op. cit., p. 193.
207. *Ibid.*
208. *Rāj.*, Book V, V. 152-55, 206.
209. *Ibid.*
210. *Ibid.*, Book V, v.
210a. *Ibid.*, Book V, 128-227; V. v. 152-155.
211. As on note 208 above.
212. *Ibid.*, Ch. V. v. 220-227.
213. As on note 205 above.
214. D.R. Sahni, Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum, *EI*, Vol.XXI, 1931-32, pp. 293-301; A Sarada Inscription from Hund, *EI*, Vol. XX, 1929-30, pp. 37-46; *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 62-65; pl. VII, Nos. 1-8.
215. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 290-293, pl.X, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
216. Minhajud-din, *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, translated by H.G. Raverty, Vol.I, London, 1881, p. 23;

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Mahammad Aufi, *Jami-ul-Hikayat*, trans. H.H. Elliot, *HIED*, Vol. II, p. 172; Indian Reprint, Allahabad, pp. 170ff.; *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 57.

217. *Ibid.*; also G. Rai, *JRHS*, Vol. II, 1918. p. 218.
218. As on note 194, pp. 208, 210, 211, pl. XVIII, 20-24.
219. *Ibid.*
220. See not 216. *Tubari*, III, 2208, Nazim, op. cit., p. 187.
221. *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 65, 85, pl. IX, 1-5, 8, 86, pl, 9-11, p. 87, pl. IX, Nos. 13, 14, 15, p. 88; pl. IX, 18-23, pp. 92-93, pl. X, 1-4, 10.
222. See not 194 above.
223. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 15.
224. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga, *EI*, pp. 4, 15.
225. *Rāj.*, Book V, v. 232.
226. *Ibid.*, v. 233.
227. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13.
228. *DHNI*, p. 103.
229. As on note 227.
230. D.R. Sahni, Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum, *EI*, Vol.XXI, 1931-32, pp. 293-301, No, 4.
231. As on note 216.
232. As on 228 above.
233. As on note 231 above; D.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 93.

233a. *Ibid.*

234. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 62, pl. VII, No. 1.
235. A. Ghosh, "A unique Gold Coin of the Hindu Kings of Kabul", *N.C.* Sixth Series, Vol. XIII, 1952, pp. 133-135; D.B. Pandey, op. cit.

235a. *Ibid.*

236. As on note 31 above; Pandey, op. cit.
237. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13.
238. *Rāj.*, VII, v. 1081, VI. 178.
239. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 64, pl. VII, Nos. 17-18; and also Macdowal, op. cit., and also note 235.
240. As on note 230.
241. *Rāj.* VI. 178.
242. *Rāj.* VI. 176.
243. *Ibid.*, VI, 177-178, VII. 1081.
244. *Ibid.*, VI. 176-178, VIII, 1081-82.
245. Khajuraho Inscriptions, *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 129, v. 43.
246. *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 34.
247. *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava*, ed. by C. Capeller, Strassberg, 1885, I. 7.
248. As on note 243 above.
249. The bull and the lion are the vehicle of Śiva and Durga respectively, D. B. Pandey, op. cit., 187.
250. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol, IX, 1848, p. 181 and also see note 194 above.
251. *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 64-65, pl. VII, Nos, 17, 18.
252. As on note 235 above.
253. *Ibid.*
254. *Ibid.*
255. *Ibid.*
256. *Ibid.*
257. *Ibid.*

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258. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties And Śasānka, King of Gauḍa* (in the British Museum, pp. 8-9, pl. III, Nos. 1-15.
259. Bhitari Pillar Inscription, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 52. *Classical Age* p. 3.
260. *Rāj.*, Vol. I, 249, note; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 337.
261. D.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 94; Y. Mishra, Chronology of Queen Didda of Kasmir, paper read in XXXI Session of Indian History Congress held at Varanasi.
262. *Rāj.* VI. v. 230-31.
263. *Ibid.*
264. *Ibid.*
265. *Ibid.*
266. *Ibid.*
267. *Ibid.*
268. *Rāj.*, Vol, I, p. 255, note.
269. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 78f.: D. B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 98.
270. *HIED*, Vol. II, p. 425, f.n. 3; J. Briggs, op. cit.. pp. 9, 15.
271. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13.
272. As on note 230 above.
272a. Recently Abdul Rehman published another inscription of Jayapalashahi in *JRAS*, No. 1, 1978. This charter records the dedication of a temple to Siva by Cangula Varman, an official of Jayapala in the year 146. It also supplies information about Bhimashahi who was the predecessor of Jayapala and was possibly killed in a battle. Mr. Rahman gives names of three kings, Vijayapāla, Sahasya raja and Anantadeva and three dates as 120, 146, 158 and tries to prove that Hindu Shahis started an era in commemoration of their coming to the power.

At the present state of our knowledge without further and more concrete evidence, the theory of the existence of an era called after Shahis may not be find universal acceptance. It is also to be noted that Mr. Rehman had not published any facsimili or photostate of the inscription. So we are not in a position to check his reading.

273. See note 251 above.
274. As on note 230 above.
275. Sharma, *Studies Ind. Med. Hist.*, *Gerdizi*, Ch. III, pp. 23-32; Ch. IV, pp. 34-65.
276. As on note 194 above.
277. *Ibid.*
278. J. Briggs, op. cit., p. 9.
279. As on note 216 and 217 above.
280. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 57.
281. Minorsky, Preface. p. 39; S. 10, 56f., 71.
282. As on note 279 above.
283. *Adab-ul Mulak wa Kifayat ul Mamluk* of Muhammad Mansur, cf. *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 486ff.; also see M. Nazim, *The Life And Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazana*, pp. 25ff.; J. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 10-41.
284. *Ibid.*
285. *Ibid.*
286. *Ibid.*
287. *Ibid.*
288. *Ibid.*
289. *Ibid.*
290. *Ibid.*
291. *Ibid.*
292. *Ibid.*, Nazim. op. cit., pp. 26-27.

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293. *Tab. Nas.*, p. 73; Nazim, op. cit., p. 27.
294. J. Briggs, op. cit., p. 9.
295. *Ibid.*, *Tab. Nas.*, p. 73.
296. *Ibid.*, and also see note 288; *Ibnul-Athir*, VIII, 503; (Nazim, op. cit.).
297. *Utbi*, p. 23; J. Briggs, op. cit., p. 9.
298. *Ibid.*, and also note 293.
299. *Ibid.*
300. *Ibid*; *Utbi*, p. 26, 32, 33f.
301. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 18, 24, 40.
302. *Ibid.*, and also see note 300 above.
303. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 34; J. Briggs, op. cit., Ch. I, pp. 14-16.
304. *Ibid.*
305. Nazim, op. cit., p. 29.
306. As on note 303 above.
307. Sharma, op. cit, Ch. IV, p. 34f.
308. *Ibid.*
309. *Ibid.*
310. *Ibid.*
311. *Ibid.*
312. *Ibid.*
313. *Ibid.*
314. J. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 18-25.
315. *Ibid.*
316. *Ibid.*
317. *Ibid.*, and also see note 303.
318. *Ibid.*
319. *Ibid.*
320. *Ibid.*
321. *Ibid.*
322. As on note 314 above.
323. *Ibid.*
324. *Ibid.*
325. *Ibid.*
326. *Ibid.*; M. Nazim, op. cit.
327. *Ibid.*
328. *Ibid.*
329. *Ibid.*
330. *Ibid.*
331. *Ibid.*
332. *Ibid.*
333. *Ibid.*
334. S.R. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 23.
335. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, p. 35.
336. As on note 334 above.
337. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 37.
338. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
339. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, p. 37.
340. *Ibid.*
341. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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342. Briggs, op. cit., p. 37 and note 341, p. 23.
343. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 38.
344. Briggs, op. cit., p. 38.
345. *Ibid.*; an on note 343, pp. 38-39.
346. *Ibid.*
347. *Ibid.*
348. *Ibid.*
349. *Ibid.*
350. *Ibid.*
351. *Ibid.*
352. *Sachau*, Vol. I, p. 135.
353. Shahni, op. cit., No. IV; Pandey, op. cit., Ins. No. 2.
354. See note 355 below.
355. As on note 345 above. The battle near Peshawar took place in A.D. 1001 and as earlier referred to, Jayapala faired badly in it and ultimately abdicated in favour of Anandapala. So it seems Anandapala may be on the Shahi throne in 1001 or 1002 A.D.
356. J. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 37-38ff.; Sharma, op. cit., pp. 23-25, 40-53.
357. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24, 42-43.
358. Briggs, op. cit., p. 45.
359. As on note 283 above.
360. S.R. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, pp. 23-24; Ch. IV, pp. 44-48. This was apparent from Gerdizi and Utbi's description.
361. *Ibid.*, III, p. 23; Ch. IV, pp. 40-41.
362. *Ibid.*, p. 40; Briggs, op. cit., p. 37.
363. *Ibid.*, p. 423, 40.
364. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
365. *Ibid.*, Briggs, op. cit., p. 37f.
366. *Ibid.*, Sharma, op. cit., pp. 23, 40-41.
367. *Ibid.*
368. *Ibid.*
369. *Ibid.*
370. *Ibid.*
371. *Ibid.*
372. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
373. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
374. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24, 42-43.
375. *Ibid.*
376. *Ibid.*
377. *Ibid.*
378. *Ibid.*
379. *Ibid.*
380. *Ibid.*
381. *Ibid.*
382. *Ibid.*
383. *Ibid.*
384. *Ibid.*
385. *Ibid.*
386. *Ibid.*, p. 24; As on note 283 above J. Briggs, op. cit., p. 44.
387. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

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388. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13ff.
389. *Ibid.*
390. Sharma, op. cit., ch. IV, p. 48.
391. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
392. *Ibid.*
393. *Ibid.*
394. *Ibid.*
395, *Ibid.*
396. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 24, IV, pp. 44-45.
397. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
398. *Ibid.*
399. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
400. *Ibid.*, III, p. 24, Ch. IV, p. 45.
401. *Ibid.*
402. *Ibid.*
403. *Ibid.*, p. 24
404. *Ibid.*
405. *Ibid.*
406. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
407. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
408. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
409. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
410. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
411. *Ibid.*, Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 338-44; *ASIR*, II, 242-47; IV, 91-103.
412. As on note 410 above.
412a. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
413. As on note 360 above.
414. Sharma, op. cit., p. 47.
415. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 24.
416. *Ibid.*
417. *Ibid.*
418. *Ibid.*
419. *Ibid.*
420. *Ibid.*
421. *Ibid.*
422. *Ibid.*
423. *Ibid.*
424. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 25, Ch. IV, pp. 54-55.
425. *Ibid.*
426. *Ibid.*
427. J. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 50-51
428. *Ibid.*
429. *Ibid.*
430. S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 25, Ch. IV, p. 55.
431. *Ibid.*, see also note 427.
432. *Ibid.*
433. *Ibid.*
434. *Ibid.*
435. *Ibid.*

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436. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
437. Sharma, op. cit., p. 42.
438. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13f.
439. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 135.
440. As on note 435 above.
441. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III. p. 25; IV, pp. 49-53. Briggs, op. cit., p. 54.
442. *Ibid.*, and also Sharma, op. cit., pp. 25, 50-51.
443. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
444. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
445. *Ibid.*
446. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
447. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
448. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
449. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 25.
450. *Ibid.*
451. *Ibid.*
452. As on note 442 above.
453. Sharma, op. cit., p. 25.
454. *Ibid.*
455. *Rāj*, VII. v. 47, v. 64.
456. Sharma, op. cit., p. 25.
457. *Ibid.*
458. As on note 455; VII. v. 48-50
459. *Ibid.*, v. 53.
460. *Ibid.*, v. 54-56.
461. *Ibid.*, v. 57.
462. *Ibid.*, v. 57-62.
463. *Ibid.*, v. 63; also as on note 456.
464. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
465. *Ibid.*
466. *Ibid.*
467. *Ibid.*
468. *Ibid.*
469. *Rāj.* VII, v. 64-65.
470. Sharma, op. cit., p. 26.
471. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 17, 45.
472. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 26, 56.
473. *Ibid.*
474. *Utbi*, p. 305. "Baihaqi occasionally refers to this Janki on pp. 67, 169, 664 as the ruler of Kalanjara, in the Kashmir Pass, and from what he says it is obvious that Kalanjara was not failed to locate it because he started with the wrong assumption that it was near Multan. Sir A. Stein, *Rāj*, p. 433 has correctly identified with Kotly; Lat. 33° 33′ N., Long. 73° 58′E·
475. As on note 455.
476. Nazim, op. cit., p. 94; *Gerdizi*, pp. 76-77.
477. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
478. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 63-64 and notes.
479 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
480. *Ibid.*
481. *Ibid.*
482. *Ibid.*

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483. *Ibid.*
484. *Ibid.*
485. *Ibid.*
486. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
487. *Ibid.*
488. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
489. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
490. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
491. *Ibid.*
492. *Ibid.*
493. *Ibid.*
494. *Ibid.*
495. *Ibid.*
496. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
497. *Ibid.* pp. 58-59.
498. *Ibid.*
499. *Ibid.*
500. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 58-59.
501. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, 59-60.
502. *Ibid.*
503. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 61-62.
504. *Ibid.*
505. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
506. A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XIV, pp. 79-86.
507. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 62-63.
508. *Ibid.*
509. *Ibid.*
510. *Ibid*
511. *ASIR*, Vol. XIV. pp.
512. Sharma, op. cit., p. 63.
513. *Ibid.*
514 *ASIR*, Vol. XIV, pp.
515. Sharma, op. cit., p. 63.
516. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.
517. *Ibid.*
518. *Ibid.*
519. *Ibid.*
520. *Ibid.*
521. As on note 476.
522. Sharma, op. cit., p. 27.
523. *Ibid.*
524. *Ibid.*, p. 27; *Ibnu'l Athir*, IX, 218.
525. *Ibid.*, Sharma, op. cit., p. 27.
526. *Ibid.*
527. *Ibid.*
528. *Ibid.*
529. *Ibid.*
530. *Ibid.*
531. *Ibid.*

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532. *Ibid.*
533. *Ibid.*
534. *Ibid.*
535. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
536. *Ibid.*
537. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
538. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
539. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
540. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
541. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.
542. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
543. *Ibid.*
544. *Ibid.*
545. *Ibid.*
546. *Ibid.*
547. *Ibid.*
548. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
549. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 13.
550. Sharma, op. cit., p. 63.
551. *Ibid.*
552. *Rāj.*, Book VIII, v. 144-148, 149, 168-178.
553. *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 14.
554. *Rāj.*, VII, v. 66-69.

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CHAPTER IV

Social Condition

A

The topographical position of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, through which ran important routes connecting Indian sub-continent with outside world, has considerable bearing upon the social history of these areas. From very ancient times, these countries became the centre of amalgamation and assimilation of different races and nationalities like Aryans,[1] Persians,[1a] Greeks,[1b] Scythians,[1c] Parthians,[1d] Yueh-chih,[1e] Hūṇas,[1f] Turks[1g] *etc.*, who passed through these regions on their way into the interior of India. They came as conquerors, but soon settled in its different parts and most of the pre-Islamic invaders adopted Indian religion, dress, customs, and manners.[2] Though, these foreign settlers and invaders were absorbed within the Indian social structure by degrees, they contributed on their part certain trends in dress, customs and manners which influenced the social and cultural life of these areas in a great way.

Thus, the regions concerned, witnessed in the pre-Christian and post-Christian centuries changing patterns in the society due to presence of various tribes in these territories.

In the Vedic period, Gandhāra and its neighbouring countries formed an integral part of Brahmāvarta,[3] and was a centre of Vedic learning and culture.[4] This sphere of Vedic culture is shifted further towards east in the Epic Age which presents a different picture.[5] Already in that period, the inhabitants of Gāndhara and Kāmboja, a contagious state to the former, which possibly included a part of Kapiśa, were looked down upon by that of Mid-India for their disgusting practices and customs.[6]

This very same idea is continued to be held by the people of Mid-India in the following centuries.[7] They were branded as mlechchhas and were placed in the north or north-western India.[8] According to Aśokan inscriptions, the countries of Gandhāra, Kāmboja belong to the frontier.[9] The *Amarakoṣa* makes mention of the frontier kingdoms as the abode of the mlechchhas.[10] Varahāmihira refers to

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rude mlechchhas of the north and the west while discussing influences of certain constellation of stars.[11]

The "*Life*" preserves the same trend of thought and specifically mentions that the lands lying to the north of Lan-Po (Laghman) which includes Kapiśa as mi-li-kieu *i.e.*, mlechchha lands.[12] It is further stated in the "Life" that the people of these territories being residents of frontier countries, differ in case of language, dress and manners from that of Mid-India.[13] The *Āryamañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* refers to the people of these areas as "mlechchha-taskara jivinah", *i.e.*, the people whose livelihood was theft or robbery.[14]

The term 'mlechchha' is frequently used in later Indian literature to denote a tribe or people of north, north-western borderlands of India having a few peculiar customs and practices of their own.[15] We can surmise from the above references that rudeness is one of the characteristics of these tribes which antagonised the people of Mid-India. In this case it is not unlikely that by the term "taskara-jivinah", looting of caravans by frontier tribesmen, is indicated. Looting of caravans is not uncommon here. Hsüan-tsang himself faced robbers and brigands in this area, once on his way to the shadow cave and another time in the border of Takka country and Gandhāra.[16]

According to Al-beruṇi, mlechchha means impure and the term is applied to indicate all foreigners including Muslims at his time,[17] who kill men and slaughter animals and eat the flesh of cows.

Therefore, it appears from above references, and evidences of coins[18] and inscriptions[19] of the earlier period, and the period concerned that foreign element was ever present in the society of this area since the invasion of the Persians and the Greeks. Possibly due to this reason the people of the area under survey has been branded as mlechchhas.

Moreover, Hsüan-tsang specifically described the nature of the people of Kapiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra, Varaṇa, Tsao-kuta, *etc.*[20] In his opinion, the inhabitants of Kapiśa "were of rude violent disposition, used a coarse vulgar language and married in a miscellaneous manner. The written language was very like that of Tokhara, but the colloquial idiom and social institutions were different. For their inner clothing, they wore woolen clothes and for their outer garments skins and serge."[21]

The very same characteristics characterises the people of this area till today. They are simple folk with a simple code of conduct, but become suddenly excited and resort to violence on finding a fault.

So far, the Chinese pilgrim includes Lan-po within India, but his description of those who lived in Lan-Po as "very musical, ugly, ill-mannered and deceitful and puscillanimous",[22] shows it otherwise.

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As stated above, Lan-po has been identified with Lamghan of present day.[23] The *Mahābhārat's* reference to Lampāka, seems to suggest that they were a rude mountain tribe like the Daranas and Pulindas.[24] They are again, referred to in the lists of people of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[25] and the *Matsya Purāṇas*[26] along with Kaśerukas, Sulakāras, Culikas, Jāguḍas, Gandhāra, Pārada, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, Tnsāra, Darada, Khasa, and others.

As stated earlier, Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* assigns lampāka with a host of tribes such as Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāna, Hūṇa, Vanāyuja, Bālhika, Vātadhana, Kuluta, Kīra, Taṅgana, Turushka, and others to the Uttarāpatha division of India (North India),[27] which is situated to the north of Prithudaka or modern Pehoa in Rajāsthan.[28] Rājaśekhara, moreover, adds a bit to the information already culled from Hsüan-tsang. The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that Lampakas chiefly wore cotton dresses and they dressed well.[29] According to Rājaśekhara, women of Limpāka were noted for their coiffure and hairdos.[30] He, further, tells us that the inhabitants of northern India had a fair complexion and they spoke Sanskrit with a nasal sound.[31] As Limpāka has been placed in Northern India by Rājaśekhara, the above-mentioned statement may be equally applicable to that state. Moreover, the Lampāka people's fondness and skill in music as narrated earlier, recalls Gandhāra's fame in music. The people of Gandhāra are referred to as expert musicians in early as well as later literature.[32] Gandhāra is one of the seven svaras of Indian music.[33] The *Rāmāyaṇa* uses the term Gāndharva vishaya to mean to Gandhāra with its two capital cities Takshaśīlā and Pushkalāvatī situated to the east and west of the Indus, as stated earlier.[33a] The *Rāmāyaṇa* also makes mention of the term Gāndharva in the sense of the music.[33b] In the days of *Vāyu Purāṇa* Gāndharva means music.[33c] Sculptural representation of a number of musical scenes suggest their liking and fondness of music and dancing.[33d] Though, Hsüan-tsang's Gandhāra lay to the east of Lan-po, according to Indian notion Gandhāra was a much larger tract which included regions lying to the east and west of Indus.[34] It is not unlikely that Lan-po may be a part of this Gandhāra.

Both Hemachandra[35] and Yādava-Prakaśa give the synonym of Lampāka as muruṇḍa.[36] "Saka-Muruṇḍa" (*i.e.*, Saka lord) is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of "Samudragupta", among the foreign potentates along with "Daiva-putrashāhi-shāhānushāhi" (*i.e.*, the little Kushanas who adopted these titles), who came of their own accord to pay allegiance to that king.[37] That is, from the above references we can infer that the population of Lan-po contained a greater portion of foreign elements, possibly Scythians.

Hsüan-tsang praises the residents of Nagara country. According to him, "they were of good character, courageous and they slighted wealth and esteemed learning."[38]

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About Gandhāra, he said, that "the towns and villages were desolate and the inhabitants were very few; in one corner of the royal city there were above 1000 families. The people were faint-hearted and fond of practical arts the majority adhered to other systems of religion, a few being Buddhists."[39]

The town of Pushkalāvatī was well populated and different wards of it were connected by passages.[40] In this town many monasteries and deva temples were existed. It was the home town of famous scholars like Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta *etc.*[41] The inhabitants of Udakhāṇḍa (Und) were in a flourishing condition and in it were collected valuable rarities from various regions."[42] The people of Takshaśīlā were plucky and courageous and were adherent of Buddhism.[43]

The residents of Fa-la-na and Tsao-kuta were again of rude violent disposition.[44]

As stated above, Nagara has been identified with Jelalabad.[45] According to the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva, Nagarahāra was one of the best countries of the world (bhutabhumi-desottamā).[46]

As stated earlier, the people of Gandhāra were wellknown in Indian literature.[47] Taxila, which was one of the two capitals of Gandhāra in the earlier period, was once a famous education centre of this area,[48] and imparted education in medicine, archery *etc.*, besides secular literature and scriptures. A stated above Gandhāra was celebrated in Indian literature for their music[49] and also for their woolen goods *etc.*, as early as the time of the *Rigveda*.[50] It is not unlikely that Hsüan-tsang's practical arts may mean these above mentioned subjects which were still prevalent among the people of this area.

The *Purāṇas* present a different picture. The *Matsya Purāṇa* speaks of the countries of Bālhika, Vātadhāna Ābhira, Savira, Madraka, Śaka, Druhya (possibly Gandhāra which according to tradition, is colonised by the descendants of Anu and Druhya, two sons of Yayāti), Puliṇḍa, Pārada, Hāramurtaka, Ramaṭha, Kaṇṭakara, Kaikeya, Daśanāmaka, Prasthala, Sampaka, (Lampaka), Talagana, Sainika, Jāṅgala as the habitat of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas of Bharadvāja gotra.[51]

According to the *Purāṇas*, the countries of Gandhāra, Yavana Sindhu-Sauvira, and others were colonies of Brahmana, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas and Śūdras.[52] Medhātithi/on *Manu* even prescribed that if a mlechchha country was conquered by an Ārya king of excellent conduct, he might establish there the society based on four castes and assign to the mlechchhas a position similar to that of Chaṇḍālas in the Āryavarta.[53] That is, inspite of their turbulant nature and outlandish mode of livining the people of the region under consideration followed the social order and norms of the contemporary India.

The fragmentary inscriptions show that the society is based on four castes.[54]

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Ghoshrāwā epigraph gives impression that the rude mlechchhas, so far looked down upon by the people of Mid-India, lost some of their bad qualities. The impact of Indian culture was deeply felt in the life of the people.[55]

Again, in Al-beruni's opinion "in the mountaineous western frontier of India there lived tribes of Hindus or people near akin to them who are rebellious savage races."[56] Utbi refers to Afghans and Khaljis to be recuited into the army of Sultan Mahmud from the Laghman Peshawar region.[57] These references suggest that due to repeated invasions of the Muslims, the settled order of the previous century becomes topsy turvy and the qualities so far held in check by different social norms and precepts comes to the forefront. Therefore, we can conclude that the people of Kapiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra Fa-la-na (Varana), *etc.*, incorporated foreign as well as Indian elements in different phases of its growth. However, culturally they were heavily influenced by Indian custom since they adopted Indian religion. Nevertheless Kapiśa, Lan-po, Fa-la-na, might have retained costume and customs which might not be strictly of Indian origin.[58]

B

As stated above, the society was based on caste system or four hereditary clan distinctions such as Brahmanas, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Śūdra like any other parts of India.

Hsüan-tsang like others understood the term Brahmana meaning those who had chaste continent habit of life. Therefore, he called them "purely living."[59] The information so far gathered from his Hsi-yü-chi[60], Indian sources'[61] Al-beruni,[62] give the impression that the Brahmanas of these territories occupied themselves with religion, study and teaching of different subjects like Veda, Grammar, arithmetic, *etc.* However, they took up the vocation of other castes whenever, necessary. Hsüan-tsang himself, noticed several Brahmana, Vaishya and Śūdra kings in North and Western India.[63] Sometimes Brahmanas acted as the guards of the stupa and temple which contained relics of the Buddha and collected fees from the visitors.[64] In another place, the Chinese pilgrim found that one Brahmana was engaged in tilling the land in the south of Taxila nearing the borders of Takka country.[65]

The Shahi dynasty of Kapiśa and Gandhāra who ruled in this area from about A.D. 870 was called 'Brahmana Shahis' by Al-beruṇi.[66] We know from Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva, that his father Indragupta, a Brahmana, was a friend and chief minister of the king of Nagarahāra.[67] So the mention of different types of occupations adopted by the Brahmanas of these countries point to the fact that they does not strictly follow the rules prescribed for them. This idea persisted in other parts of India from the age of the *Mahābhārata* upto the period under consideration.[68] For that very reason the Brahmanas of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, did not find favour among the orthodox Brahmanas of Mid-India.

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Hsüan-tsang confirms the second notion that the second social order is that of the Kshatriyas or race of kings.[69] As stated earlier, one important Ksatriya ruler was holding sway over Kapiśa, Gandhāra, and at least ten of the neighbouring states at the time of his visit.[70] This king not only received him kindly but also provided him with every possible help. He equally showered honour and presents on the Chinese pilgrim.[71]

Muslim chroniclers corroborated the views held by the Chinese pilgrim.[72] Moreover, Sulaiman adds that kingship is hereditary.[73] Ibn Khurdad Beh draws distinct line between Sabukafria or race of kings and Kataria, the ordinary members of this class.[74] Although their remarks show the social structure of India in general at that time, as a part of India, it is equally applicable to the regions concerned.

During this period, a new term Rajput was coined to indicate in general the members of the Kshatriya caste, The Muslims chroniclers apply this term Rajput to mean the people of Gandhāra, Ghazni and Kabul valley who defended their motherland against the onrush of the Muslims.[75]

The third order is consisted of the Vaishyas or class of traders who barter their own commodities far and near.[76] The Chinese pilgrim's reference to them as the trading caste[77] is of some interest. It conveys the particular idea about trade prevalent in those days. It I-tsing's account of India, trade is mentioned as the faultless occupation, because it does not cause any injury to life.[78] According to him, traders were held in much esteem than the farmers.[79] The *Samarichchā-kahā*, refers to Vaishya sārthavāha of Gandhāra who went to Broach with horses for trade.[80]

Although, vocations prescribed for Vaishya were both trade and agriculture, cultivation of cereals now became the means of livelihood of the Śūdras.[81] The Chinese pilgrim refers to them as expert in sowing and reaping of various cereals.[82] But Śūdras of these areas often took up the occupation of other castes. In the *Kuvalayamālā*, we find a detail reference to a Śūdra sārthavaha of Gandhāra. He along with other traders under the leadership of Dhanapati went to Surpāraka, an well-known trading mart of Western India to sell horses and other commodities.[83]

Thus, we find that caste system was in existence in the lands of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Although the people of these parts concerned themselves with vocations prescribed for them in the caste system, they did not follow any hard and fast rule in this regard, and often changed it. So, they incurred the displeasure of the people of Mid-India who tried to adhere to the rules rather strictly.

Besides, we find from the *T'ang-Shu*, that a number of people like those of Chi-pin, Ghazni and Turks lived in the country of Chi-pin *i.e.*, Kapiśa.[84] The

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Hudud Al 'Alam, mentions Khurasani and Muslim marchants as residents of the different cities of these areas upto Hund in those days,[85] side by side with native population. These references suggest that besides the four castes, foreigners especially Muslim have a place of their own in the society of the regions concerned. At the later part of the period under review, the society of these area came face to face with an element which they could not absorb within them. The Turks and Muslims maintained their separate entity till the end of the period under survey. At the present state of our knowledge we cannot say anything definite about their status in the society.

C

Marriage, the most important social function of one's life apparently formed an important part in one's life in our region. Our information on the system practiced here is practically nothing. The only source about this important caremony is Hsüan-tsang's statement that the people of Kapiśa "married in a miscellaneous manner."[86] As no light is forthcoming in this regard, it is not unlikely that eight forms of marriage, current among the four castes of North India were prevalent here. Presence of foreign settlers in the society of the areas concerned indicates the use of the marriage caremony of foreigners as well. The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that the Indians married within the same caste.[87] Contemporary law books inform us that marriage is performed between members of the same caste, but not with sva-gotra and sva-pinda.[88]

Though the custom of marrying within one's own caste was followed in general inter-caste marriage was also known during this period. The Brahmana Shahi king Bhīmadeva gave his daughter in marriage to the Khasa chief of Lohara.[89] This king in his turn bestowed his daughter Diddā on Kshatriya Kshemagupta, a king of Kāśmīra.[90] Diddā was one of the famous queen of Kāśmīra,[91] who issued joint coinage with her husband and also acted as regent during her son and grandson's reign. She held sway over Kāśmīra after the death of her grandson.[92] The Shahis of Kapiśa and Gandhāra had matrimonial relations with the nobles of Kāśmira.[93] Tuṅga, chief minister of Kāśmīra during queen Diddā's reign, a low born Khasa, married his son to a Shahi princes[94] who entered into fire as a sati after his husband's death. Vasantalekhā, a Shahi princess married to the royal family of Kāśmīra, committed sati on her husband's funeral pyre.[95]

All these data tend to show that inter-caste marriage was in vogue among the people of North India and specially in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Ibn Khurdad Beh[96] describes *anuloma* forms of marriage, while Al-beruṇi observes in course of narrating theoretical rules that in his time Brahmanas did not avail themselves of this liberty and married women of their own caste.[97] So, it is fair to conclude that such inter-caste marriages were of exceptional nature and did not conform to prevalent social custom.

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D

Our information on the position of women of Gandhāra and Kapiśa during the period concerned are even less than the data in the system of marriage followed there. In India of this age the position of the women was generally that of dependence on the male member of the society.[98] The birth of girl was considered inauspicious in the family.[99] The marriagable age for girls vary between eight to twelve years. The law-givers of this age laid emphasis on the observance of chastity by the wife.[100]

The only source which illuminated this field, was the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva. It is stated in the epigraph that Rajjikā, mother of Vīradeva, was well-known for her womanly virtues.[101] She was specifically referred to as 'pativratā' *i.e.*, devoted to her husband. Hence she was highly esteemed by the people of Nagarahāra.[102]

It should, however, be admitted that the superiority of mother over every member of the family is also extolled in this period. To a son, the position of mother is even above father and therefore, she must be maintained at all costs.[103]

Recently an inscription has been published by G. Tucci, in the East and West of 1970.[104] This epigraph informs us that a maṭha was founded by a lady called Ratnamañjarī in year 120 in the reign of Vijayapāladeva.[104a] This above reference suggests that women in general were connected with religious activities and even recorded building of religious foundations in their own name. The inscription of Queen Kāmeśvarī shows that the queens of this area issued epigraphs in their own name like their counterparts in India.[104b]

Sometimes women rose to fame and eminence. During this period poetess Rusā's work was translated into Arabic language in the court of Abbasid Caliphs.[105]

It is interesting to note that no veil obscured the person of queen from the view of the people thereby showing that no purdah system was in vogue.[106]

With the arrival of the Arab invaders forcible capture or abduction of women and men took place who were sold as slaves.[106a] This perhaps necessitates further changes in the position of women of these areas.

E

Cereals form an important part of the food stuff of the people of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[107] Among various cereals, wheat and barley occupy a prominent place in the regions concerned from ancient times.[108] This is continued to be same in the period under consideration.[109]

The Chinese pilgrim noticed the cultivation of spring wheat in Kapiśa.[110] In

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the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* it is expressly stated that the inhabitants of 'Kapiśa Siddhikshetra' are consumers of barley and wheat ('Yava-Godhuma bhojina').[111] Wheat is mentioned as the food of the Yavanas in Dhanvantari's *Nighaṇṭu*.[112] The same term is used to denote it in later literature.

The above references points to wheat's unpopularity among the people of North-west India in those days, though a few preparations were known.

With the advent of Muslim, a slight change is noticeable in this field. Wheat is now more favoured by the people of North India. Various preparations such as Kasāra, suhāli, Pāhalikā, Polikās were added to the list of known preparations.[113]

Besides upland rice produced in Lanpo constitutes one of the items of stapple food of this valley.[114] Although we have very little evidence about milk and milk products, pulses, vegetables,[114a] these articles may be in use among the population of this area like any other parts of India.

Meat was in general use among the people of the regions concerned and its neighbouring countries from ancient period.[115] Flesh of sheep was very popular. Garlic, onion, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, saffron are some of the ingredients for the cooking of meat.[116] Different preparations were known.[117] Al-beruṇi gave a list of lawful meat.[118] But the people of the regions concerned did not take beef. According to Al-beruṇi, the Isphabad of Kabul after his defeat at the hands of the Muslims promised to be converted to Islam on condition that he would not take beef.[119]

In the list of spices and condiments, mention may be made of garlic, onion, ginger, black pepper, along with saffron and asafoetida.[120] Dried ginger's synonym is 'Nāgara', *i.e.*, produced in Nagara country of city.[121] It is possible that this Nāgara may mean the Nagara of Hsüan-tsang. Garlic and onion are again and again referred to as 'food of the Yavanas' in the Indian literature.[122] This repeated references suggests that people of other parts of India does not like them. Actually use of garlic and onion are prohibited to the Brahmanas of India by the law-givers.[123]

Long use of onion and garlic in these territories proved their medicinal value. Later on, even the milk of a cow was prescribed for a twice born who was ill.[124]

The juice of sugar-cane, guda, phanita, crystal sugar were in use among the inhabitants of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[125]

Hsüan-tsang records that fruits are in abundance in Kapiśa and Nagara, Gandhāra.[126] Among them mention may be made grapes, plums, peaches, apples, appricots, water-melons, sweet oranges, myrobolans *etc.*[127] Fresh and dried myrobalans had been received by Caliph Al-Mamun after his conquest of Kabul in A.D. 815-16 when trade was resumed.[128] This indicates that fresh and dried

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fruits not only forms an important item of the foodstuffs of the area under review but also suggests its export to different countries. Even the 19th century travellers noticed the abundance of fresh and dried fruits in the bazars of Kabul, Laghman and Jelalabad, *etc.*

The inhabitants of these areas are referred to in the ancient and contemporary Indian literature as very found of drinking wine.[129] Finds of various types of goblets, wine cups; flasks *etc.*, bore witness to the fact.[130] Many sculptures of Kapiśa and Gandhāra while illustrating the Buddhist theme depicts drinking scenes.[131] This is one of the most common scene of these regions in the earlier part of the period.

Moreover, Kapiśa was the producer of famous *Kapisāyana* wine.[132] Some of its names are kalya (*i.e.* Kābisam madyam or a kind of liquor made in Kapiśa), Pariśrutanmadhu *i.e.*, distilled spirit,[132a] '*Devasristā*'[132b] (*i.e.*, made by the gods) and mādhvikam, an intoxicating drink. The above mentioned references suggest that grape wine is prepared in Kapiśa not only for its home consumption but also for its export to India.

Drinking of wine was again and again condemed by the Law-givers of India.[133] For this reason, the people of these frontier countries were looked down upon by those of Mid-India.[134]

Thus the food habits of the people of Kapiśa and Gandhāra differs from that of Mid-India proper. Although, it is the same in its essentials, the diatary of the residents of these countries contain such elements which are condemned and prohibited by the Law-givers of ancient India. Eating from the same plate or utensil is one of the customs of these areas which again attracted censor of the Law-givers.[135] It is specifically stated in the *Dharma śāstras* and *Purāṇas* that one should not take their meal before public and not with others.[135a] Some of them prescribed that one should take meal with one's brother and other relative in a row in a secluded place. In case of function, food may be taken in a row.[136] But each caste must sit in separate row for themselves. Besides separate plates must be used.[137] From Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya* it appears that Śakas and Yavanas are allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.[138] Already in the days of Al-beruṇi this mode of eating from the same plate is considered bad.[139] In his opinion, a few Brahmanas allow their relatives to eat from the same dish, but most of them disapprove of this.[140] He further tells us that any connection with a foreigner, be it by sitting, eating or drinking, is forbidden.[141] They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner.[142]

F

Owing to the climatic condition, two types of dress materials were used by the

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people of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[143] Kapiśa being colder, the inhabitants of it use woolen clothes for their inner clothing and their outer garments consisted of skins and serge.[144] The countries of Lan-po and Gandhāra belong to a warmer climate and therefore, the people of these two states wear chiefly cotton dresses.[145] As stated earlier, Hsüan-tsang specifically stated that the people of Lan-po are well-dressed.[146]

In Hsüan-tsang's opinion, "close fitting jackets like that of Tartars were worn in extreme north of India where the climate was very cold."[147] The sculptures of these areas under review depict two kinds of costumes with a few varieties.[148] The first type is made of full sleeved close-fitting tunics which reaches upto knee and close-fitting trousers with high boots and various kinds of head-dresses with jewels, flowing ribbons *etc.*[149] Short sleeved tunic and baggy trousers, another variety of the first type, are also known.[150] The apparels of women generally follow those of men.[151] But the use of ghāgri, orni, and choli strikes a new note in this field.[152] A Greecian flowing garment closely fitted to the waist and having graceful folds upto the feet is also known.[153]

The second mode of wearing costumes ond dresses made of cotton most probably belongs to Lan-po, Nagara and Gandhāra. In the opinion of Hsüan-tsang, "the inner clothing and the attire of the people of India have no tailoring.[154] Among colours a fresh white is esteemed and mostly is of no account."[155]

The contemporary sculptures of gods and devotees of the regions concerned represent this mode of wearing dresses.[156] Deities, sometimes devotees also are depicted as wearing *dhoti* and uttariya, with a simple cap or turban.[157] The apparels of the goddesses comprise of śārī, kāñchulī, orni, crown, other ornaments. Flowers in some cases adorn their heir also.[158]

The latter part of the period under review saw further changes. One Muslim historian noticed the presence of two types of dresses and the two ways of wearing them in the zone and the period concerned.[159] Muslims used kurtā, close-fitting trousers and head dresses and non-Muslims followed the dresses of the Persians.[160] And the kings of these countries were dressed in Indian fashion.[161]

Menfolk of these territories generally wear their hair long which hangs in loose curls over their shoulders.[162] Their long hair is further dressed in different fashions and is decorated with top-knots, crowns, jewels, simple caps, turbans, crest-jewels, ribbons.[163] They keep their beards long and have moustaches also.[164] Women has long hair, which is plaited and arranged into bun, and in many types of coiffures.[165] These hair-dos are adorned with jewels and as already stated, with flowers.[166]

Many types of ornaments were vogue among the male and female members of the society.[167] Bangles, armlets, ear-rings, finger-rings, necklaces, crest-jewels,

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tiaras, are the fashions of this period.[168] Especially, the simple necklaces of pearls or precious stones, round-shaped ear-rings (found in the Hūṇa coins and on the gods of this period), bangles, armlets are very popular.[169] The sculptures of the zone and the period and also of earlier time exhibits intricately carved ornaments set with jems and pearls.[170]

The early medieval Muslim annalists refer to the popularity of ornaments among the kings of the countries concerned.[171] Necklaces of Shahi Jayapāla and his kith and kin were taken away by Sultan Mahmud.[172] The famous pearl necklace of Jayapāla fetched a very high price.[173]

Flowers play an important part in this field along with ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones.[174] Gāndhara is referred to produce a number of flowers according to Hsüan-tsang.[175] Its use as garland and singly on the hair are found in the sculptures of the period and regions concerned.[176]

G

The spoken language of Kapiśa and its adjoining countries differed from that of Mid-India in the days of Hsüan-tsang.[177] According to him, the inhabitants of Kapiśa spoke "a coarse vulgar language" and their written language was like that of Tokhara.[178] While describing the people of Tokharistan, he made mention of the fact that its written language was consisted of 25 letters.[179]

The latter reference to Tokharian script of 25 letters, may point to the use of the Greek cursive script of 25 letters which prevailed in the countries of Tokharistan, Bactria, Ghazni and Kapiśa, with its neighbours in the earlier centuries and in the first two centuries of our time. A number of coins, inscriptions in this character are recovered from these areas by the 19th century scholars.[180] Humback deciphered one such inscription identified it with Greek cursive script.[181] Coins of Spalapatideva proves that the script was used upto his time.[182]

The spoken language referred to above may be derived from the form of a Prakrit which was prevalent in those areas in the first few centuries of the christian era.[183] It is likely that a few more words were added to that tongue by every passing invaders. As we know from the *T'ang annals*, the Turks also constitutes a part of the population of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in the period concerned,[184] the language of Kapiśa may contain an admixture of Turkish words, along with other loan words from different tongues. Researches of Humback on Tochi valley[185] inscription points to this fact as well. This charter uses the Greek cursive script and its language is an admixture of Turkish and Iranian words.[186] Al-beruṇi noted the presence of a neglected vernacular as the language of the common people along with classical Sanskrit.[187]

In Gandhāra and its nearby areas this neglected vernacular may mean a kind

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of Prakrit strongly influenced by Sanskrit and enriched by Turkish and Iranian words.

Persian language and Pahlavi characters existed here side by side with the Greek cursive upto the first decade of 8th century A.D.[188] These two serve the purpose of official language in the earlier part of the ages concerned as already mentioned above.[189]

Hindu Shahi's adoption of Sanskrit language and Sāradā script[190] ousted them from this field from the middle of 9th century. A centre of Vedic Culture in the earlier period, the study of Sanskrit (in Brahmi script) never stopped here.[191] Already in the period of Yāska, the language varied from the Vedic tongue.[192] Inscriptional evidence proves its existence in the ages beginning from christian era upto the rule of Toramāna.[193] According to Bühler, Toramāna's Kyura epigraph from Punjab is written in Gāthā form of Sanskrit.[194] In other words Sanskrit is heavily influenced by Prakrit.

In the opinion of Hsüan-tsang, "the people of Mid-India are pre-eminently explicitly correct in speech, their expression being harmonious and elegant like those of the devas and their intonations clear and distinct serving as rule and pattern for others. The people of neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became the norm and emulous for vulgarities, have lost their pure style."[195]

This is equally true in the case of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra at a later date. The Bakshali Manuscript dated in A.D. 800 reveals this sort of Sanskrit which is full of irregularities.[196] As already stated above, the Kyura inscription of Toramāṇa[197] Shahi shows this sort of Sanskrit, it is possible that this is the same in the case of the language of Bakhshali manuscript also. The inscriptions preserve a few Sanskrit poetry of this nature.[198] But specimen of good sanskrit poetry is also known.[199]

In the 7th century mainly two types of education systems prevailed in North India such as (1) the Buddhistic monastic system of education[200] and (2) the Brahmanical Gurukula system of instruction.[201] In the former, monasteries becomes the centres of learning where studies are carried on both in religious scriptures and secular sciences.[202] In the latter the preceptor's house serves that purpose.[203]

Hsüan-tsang observed the existence of a large number of monasteries in the countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[204] Most of the Vihāras of Lan-po, Gandhāra were deserted and in ruins,[205] but the remaining other played an important part in this regard. The Chinese pilgrim specifically mentioned the Hostages monastery and Mahayanist's convent at the capital city of Kapiśa as two of the most important among the thousand monasteries of Kapiśa.[206] He not only mentioned this,

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but also gave a detailed list of distinguished teachers of this vihāra.[207] Manojña-ghosha, Āryavarma of the Sarvāstivādin sect, Guṇabhadra, of Mahisāsakas, and others were some of the reputed chiefs of this convent.[208] He met them in a religious assembly, held by the king of Kapiśa who was fond of religious conferences and discussions.[209] These teachers are found to be masters in their respective fields. As their knowledge of the scriptures could not embrace all the branches of Hīnayāna and Mahāyanist schools, so Hsüan-tsang's erudition on all these subjects was honoured and he was accorded the place of victor in this religious assembly.[210]

About Lan-po, he said, that it consisted of ten sangharamas and a few brethren.[211] We know that this district produced at least one distinguished Sanskrit scholar in the past. This pious and learned scholar visited China and assisted in the translation of a celebrated treatise of magical invocations from Sanskrit into Chinese in A.D. 700.[212]

The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that the people of Nagara reverenced Buddha and esteemed learning very much.[213] Nagarahāra retained its fame upto 9th century A.D. In that age we find Vīradeva, a noted scholar, who was resident of Nagarahāra and an alumni of Kanishka Mahāvihāra and also the president of Nalanda in the time of Devapāla.[214]

As already stated Gandhāra was once a famous centre of learning. Takshaśīlā, one of its capital at the earlier days, which sometimes formed a part of Gandhāra in the period concerned, was far-famed in the history for its different schools of learning from an earlier period.[215] Takshaśīlā, was perhaps not in a flourishing state in our period, and a system of education not altogether lacking in Gandhāra. According to Hsüan-tsang, among the past Buddhist Masters (who wrote treatise on Buddhist religion and philosophy), Shihch'in-P'usa (Vasuvandhu), Dharmatrāta, Vasumitra, Manoratha, venerable Pārśva Nārāyanadeva, Wu-chao-Pusa (Āsaṅga), Īśvara belonged to this country.[216]

Kanishka Mahāvihāra, one of the foremost monasteries of this region was situated near Peshawar.[217] It was founded in the first or second century A.D. by Kanishka.[218] According to Hsüan-tsang, this monastic complex consisted of a great stupa and a number of small topes with a saṅghārāma.[219] This old monastery had a number of storyed buildings, terraces, and vaulted chambers.[220] The "upper storeys and many terraces were connected by passages to invite eminent Brethren and give distinction to illustrious merit."[221] According to the Chinese pilgrim, "from the time it was built it had yielded occasionally extraordinary men, and arhats and sastramekaras" like Pārśva, Manoratha, Āsaṅga, Vasuvandhu and others who were "by their pure conduct and excellent virtue were still an active influence."[222] During Hsüan-tsang's visit, this monastery, however, was not in a very flourishing condition.[223] Nevertheless, a number of monks and scholars lived in this convent and carried on their work.

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This Buddhist establishment was able to maintain its existence upto the middle of the 9th century A.D. Vīradeva of Nagarahāra, after finishing his Vedic studies in an early age joined this Mahāvihāra and accepted ordination under the preceptor Sarvajña-śānti.[224] After completing the courses here, he went to Vajrāsana at Bodhgaya to pay homage to that sacred spot.[225] Next, he visited the Brethren of his country at Yaśovarmapura-vihāra.[226] Then he went to Nalanda. He was treated with reverence by the Pāla king Devapāla.[227] He was elected by the Saṅgha of Nalanda to be its president for his scholarship and learning.[228] This indicates the high status enjoyed by the alumni of the Kanishka Mahāvihāra in the rest of India. It also perhaps suggests the practice of exchange of scholars between these different centres of learning.

The cities of Pushkalāvatī and Po-lu-sha also produced learned men of eminence in the past.[229] The former was visited by a number of well-known scholars and preachers of Mid-India.[230] The town of Pushkalāvatī had to its credit two scholars Vasumitra and Dharmatrāta as referred to above, who composed two famous treatises on Buddhism.[231] Īśvaradeva of Po-lu-sha wrote another such work.[232]

So, we find that though many of the monasteries were in ruins and deserted, but the remaining others played an important role in the field of education.

Hsüan-tsang described in detail the Buddhist and Brahmanical way of instruction while discussing the education system of India.[233] As the greater part of the regions under consideration fall within Hsüan-tsang's India, the Indian education system described by the Chinese pilgrim is equally applicable to the system of education prevalent in the territories of Kapiśa and Gandhāra also.

Hsüan-tsang holds that in the beginning of their education, children learns "twelve chapters", which is the childs primer A.B.C. and headed by the word Siddham.[234] "When the child is seven years old, the treatise of the Five sciences are gradually communicated to them. The first science is grammer which teaches and explains words and classifies their distinction. The second is that of the skilled professions (concerned with) the principles of the mechanical arts, the dual process of astrology. The third is the science of medicine (embracing) exercising charms, medicinal use of stone, the needle, moxa. The fourth is the science of reasoning by which the orthodox and heterodox are ascertained and the true or false are thoroughly sought out (Nyāya). The fifth is the science of internal which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (lit. five vehicles) and the subtle doctrine of Karma (Adhyātmavidya)."[235] The fifth science of the present passage, as the context shows and as we learn from other authorities, mean Buddhism. The son of a Buddhist parents went through a course of secular instruction like other boys, and he also studies the books of his religion including metaphysical and argumentative treatises of the great Doctors of Abhidharma. In

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these he learned all about the Five degrees of Five vehicles, the five fold gradation of moral beings. These progressive stages are given as lay believer (or inferior degree), ordained disciple, Pratyeka Buddha, Bodhisattva Buddha. They are also said to be man, devas, ordained disciples, Pratyeka Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and there is further difference of opinion as to the classes of beings which form the successive groups. In the Buddhist śāstras, moreover, the student found the doctrine of Karma stated, defended and illustrated with a subtlity of intellect and boldness of imagination almost matchless. All the five groups of learning here enumerated were apparently comprised in the training of an Indian Buddhist, and no one could be a leader in the church or an authority on dogma, who did not show himself a proficient in these departments of learning. We are told of Kumāra-jīva that he studied the sastras of five sciences and of Guṇabhadra, it is recorded that in his youth he learned all the śāstras of Five sciences, astronomy, arithmetic medicine, exorcisms."[236]

Thus these Five sciences formed the basic ground for further study.

"The religious training in the *Tripiṭaka* was, according to some a separate affair."[237] According to Hsüan-tsang, several assemblies were held by this monastery to judge the scholarship and learning of its brethren.[238] Very little is known about the Brahmanical system of education prevalent in our region. It was practised in places like Nagarahāra,[239] Sālaturā,[240] the birth place of Pāṇiṇī and possibly in Taxila. These places were of some importance. In the Nagarahāra Vedic studies were continued upto the middle of the 9th century A.D. which was apparent from the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva.[241] Vīradeva studied the *Vedas* and other connected subjects in that city.[242] Sālatura was known for its grammatical studies.[243] Hsüan-tsang noted that the Brahmanas of this city were studious scholars and great investigators and studied the work of Pāṇiṇī with great care.[244] The whole treatise of Pāṇiṇī was transmitted orally from master to disciple.[245] Ugrabhūti, preceptor of Ānandapāla, wrote *Śishya-hita-vritti*, a grammar.[246] He may belong to this centre.

The oral method of instruction was followed by both the Buddhist and Brahmanas alike.[247] In the former system the students lived in the preceptor's house and was dependant on their teacher for their every need. The Brahmana student receive like their counterpart first instruction at the age of seven or five years.[248] After mastering the primer on A.B.C. the child was gradually introduced to Five sciences.[249] After completing this course, they studied the three *Vedas*, the *Rik*, *Sāma* and *Yaju*.[250] Hsüan-tsang included within the four vedas *Āyurveda* or medicine also.[251] Apparently it is a mistake because the system of medicine as a profession belonged to the Vaidyakas only.

In his opinion, "the teacher must have a wide and thorough and minute knowledge of these, with an exhaustive comprehension of all that is abstruse in

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H

The indianised society of Kapiśa and Gandhāra faced a serious crisis with the arrival of Islam. The people of these territories, came into contact with Muslims from a comparatively earlier period than any other parts of India except Sind.[254] This relationship continued for 400 years there by deeply influencing its society and culture.[255] At least three phases of impact of Islam can be noticed in the society of the zone of our age.

The first phase began with the first Muslim invasion of the Kabul valley by Ab-dar Rahman Ibn Samurah and the attack on Nezak, ruler of Badghis region in A.D. 667 as stated above.[256] As mentioned above, Ab-dar Ibn Samurah marched to Kabul directly from Seistan and conquered it after few months seize and preached Islam.[257] He took many captives. Taking the advantage of Ibn Samurah's preoccupation in Zabulistan, the inhabitants of Kabul revolted and drove out the Muslims from their city and returned to their forefather's faith.[258] Ibn Samurah had to reconquer it.[259] But the Muslim authority could not hold it for long with the withdrawal of Ibn Samurah's forces, Kabul again declared independence and drove out the Muslims.[260] This sort of incidents occurred here again and again.[261]

As already stated above, Nizak was the ruler of Badghis region in the fifties as well as sixties of the 7th century.[262] He had to face repeated invasions of his territory by the Muslims. He retreated to Baghlan after his conflict with the Mulims in A.D. 664 and tried to recover his country with the assistance of allies between that period and A.D. 709. He did not succeed in this attempt and was captured with his associates and was killed in the same year.[263]

But his successor was found to be ruling over Kapiśa in 709 A.D.[264] This indicates that the Nezak dynasty had to fall back on Kapiśa beyond Hindukush as a result of this defeat.

Next to Nezak dynasty, we find Shahi Tigin who conquered Khurasan from Muslims between 720 to 735 A.D.[265] In 736 Balkh was recaptured by the Muslims and made the capital of Khurasan.[266] From this time onwards Muslim hold over Khurasan became stronger day by day. And the Shahi kings were compelled to expand their kingdom south and eastwards. The above mentioned incidents show the first impact of Islam on the society of these areas. Islam came to these regions with fire and sword.

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Although people were compelled to embrace Islam, the repeated inrods, large scale destruction of people and property and looting of wealth and taking of large number of captives, suggest that these attacks are in the form of mere raids for gain. Society's initial reaction to these raids were total rejection of foreigners and their faith. This phase come to an end in A.D. 815, when Kabul Shah submitted to Al-Mamum and professed Islam.[267] This was a decisive victory for the Muslims. Kabul Shah's acceptance of Islam possibly led the people to accept this religion. The whole territory from Khurasan upto frontiers of Kāśmir opened to the Muslims as its result. Muslims were permitted to reside in the cities of this area.[268]

As early as 857 A.D. the record of a Muslim settler Hayy son of 'Amar has been found in Tochi Agency, west of Banu in N.W.F.P., Pakistan.[269] Though a little outside of our region it refers to the construction of a tank there.[270] Muslim geographers record the presence of Muslim traders in different towns and cities of this area.[271] *The Hudud-Al-Alam* preserves the names of Laghman, Kabul, Saul, Dynpur, Waihand where Muslims and Hindus lived side by side.[272] Even the local chief of Laghman is referred to as Muslim, but its residents as admixture of Hindu and Muslims.[273]

So, we find that the Kapiśa, Gandhāra's social structure tried to adjust it after its recovery from the initial shock. The presence of Muslims in the society was accepted and the age-old policy of toleration was followed towards them. Both of these religionists tried to learn each other's language. Under the able leadership of Abbasid Caliphate many valuable works on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, *etc.*, were translated into Arabic and Persian from Sanskrit original.[274] Even poetress Rusā's poems were translated.[275] Al-beruni's scholarship is the proof of this exchange. Rājaśekhara stated that a poet can translate or take back the summary of a book or original works written in 'melchchha languages.'[276] This indicates that this type of translation was also known to Indians as well. This phase is further characterised by liberal laws which were prescribed by Atri and Devala.[277] In the opinion of Devala, an inhabitant of Sind in 8th century A.D. reconversion was possible in case of a mlechchhā-nīta.[278] According to him, in the case of forcible capture and conversion of women reconversion was also possible.[279] Political history reveals a number of instances between A.D. 680-815 A.D. where all the people of different cities apostalized as soon as possible.[280] Thus by prescribing these liberal laws Devala accepted the actual practices.

Constant warfare with the Muslims had its effect in this field. With rise of Ghaznavid power this relationship was changed altogether. In this last stage, the sole reference to a case of are reconversion is known from the account of Utbi.[281] He referred to Nawsah Shah, a son of Ānandapāla.[282] He was converted to Islam in Khurasan.[283] Sultan Mahmud left him as his protigee to govern a portion of the former dominions of Ānandapāla.[284] Taking advantage of Sultan Mahmud's pre-

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occupation with the Turks[285] Nawsah Shah declared independence and he held talks with Brahmanas for reconversion.[286] Hearing this news Sultan Mahmud promptly came back and inflicted a crushing defeat on him and kept him as a lifelong prisoner.[287]

This incident shows that a change is already appearing in this regard. Al-beruṇi noticed further deterioration in this field.[288] According to him, repeated attacks, on the Shahi land, large scale massacre, forcible capture and conversion of people closed the door against the admission from outside, even for those who stayed out of it by force choice and accident.[289] In his opinion "all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them mlechchha, *i.e.*, impure and forbid having any connection with them, be it marriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it or was inclined to their religion. This two render any connection with them impossible and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."[290]

This statement of Al-beruṇi points to the introduction of rigid laws in this period. Thus we find that the Indian law-givers at first tried to absorb the foreigners within the social structure like any other invaders. But their attempt failed in this regard. This process of assimilation came to a halt with the advance of Islam. Here Indian society came face to face with such an element which protected its separate identity and as such could not be absorbed into Indian social structure. To tackle this problem the law-givers of this period prescribed rigid laws and enforced strict use of these laws and condemned everything connected with a mlechchha as impure, which was mirrored in Al-beruni's account.

Notes and References

1. See Chapter on Economic Condition. *R.V.* I. 74, 2; V. 10. 3; 44, 7; VI. 2. 8; *A.V.*, VI, 3. 3; 84, 1; *Vāj. Saṁ.* XXVII. 3. *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, VI. 14; I. 2; *Aitareya Brāh*, II, 1. I. *Śatapatha Brāh* IV, 1. Kubhā-*R.V.* V. 53. 9; X. 75. 6.

1a. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Book I, Ch. I, Persepolis Inscription of Darayavahush (=Darius), pp, 6-8; Naqshi-Rustam Inscription (a) of Darayavahush (=Darius), pp. 9-11; Persepolis Inscription [h] of Khshayarsha (=Xerxes, c. 486-65 B.C.), pp. 11-15.

1b. *Ibid.*, Book II, Ch. I, Basenagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra—Regnal year 14, pp. 90-91; Shinkot Steatite casket Inscription of the time of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)-Regnal years and 5, pp. 102-104; *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, pt. I; A Swat Relic Vase Inscription of Meridarkh Theodorus, pp. 1-4; Taxila C.P. Inscription of a Meridarikh, pp. 4-6.

1c. *Ibid.*, Shahdaur Inscription of Damijada, pp. 13-146; Taxila C.P. Inscription of Patika, The year 78; pp. 23-32.

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1d. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Book I, Ch. I, Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, pp. 30-49; The so-called Takht-i-Bahi Inscription of the year 103, pp. 57-63.
1e. *Ibid.*, Panjtar Inscription of the year 122, pp. 67-70; Taxila Silver scroll of the year 136, pp. 70-77; Khalatise Inscription of the year 187, pp. 79-81; Sui Vihar C.P. Inscription of the year 11, pp. 138-141; Select Inscriptions, Vol. I(II), Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kanishka pp. 132-134; Manikiyala Stone Inscription of Kanishka I-year 18 (A.D. 96?), pp. 138-139; Sanchi Buddhist Image Inscription of Vasishka-year 28 (=A.D. 106?), pp. 144-145; Mathura Stone Inscription of Huvishka, pp. 146-147; Mathura Image Inscription of Vāsudeva, p. 156.
1f. G. Bühler, The New Inscription of Toramāṇa Saha, *E.I.*, Vol. I, Article No. 29, pp. 238-41; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 276-93, pl. VII, VIII, IX, X.
1g. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-291; pl. IX, 18-24, pl. X, 2, 9.
2. As on 1, 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g.
3. *Manu*, X, 43-44, pp. 412.
4. *Aitareya Brāh.* VII. 34; *Śatapatha Brāh.* VIII. 14, 10.
5. *Mbh., Udyoga Parvan*, Ch. 165, 1-3; *Bhīsma Parvan*, Ch. 17, 26-27; Ch. 20, 8; Ch. 45, 66-68; Ch. 46, 51; Ch. 71, 90, 13-17; Ch. 56, 7; Ch. 75, 7. 17; *Droṇa Parvan*, Ch. 20. 20-27; Ch. 92. 61-75.
6. *Mbh., Karṇa Parvan*, Ch. 44, 46; Ch. 45. 8; *Anuśāsanika Parvan*, Ch. 207. 43-44; *Bhuridatta Jāt* VI. 208 Cowell's *Jat* VI. 110; *Baud Dh. S.*, I. 1. 31.
7. *Mitākshara on Yājñavalkya*, III, 292.
8. *Amara.* 2, p. 71; *Br. Saṁ.*, XIV. 20-21; *Sukranītisāra*, I. 3. 87-88 (p. 530).
9. *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, Fifth Rock Edict : Shahbazgarhi, pp. 55-57; Thirteenth Rock Edict ; Shahbazgarhi, pp. 66-70.
10. *Amara*, 2, p. 71.
11. *Br. Saṁ.* XIV. 21; V. 29, 33, 54, 79; XVI. 9-10.
12. *Life*, Book II, p. 57.
13. *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 72.
14. *MMK*, Vol. II, Ch. 24, p. 274. "Yeh pi Pratyanta-vāsi-nyomlechchha taskarajivinah."
15. *Śukranītisāra*, I, 3. 87-88.
16. *Life*, Book II, pp. 60-61, 73.
17. *Sachau*, Ch. I, pp. 19-20; II, LXIV, p. 137. "All other men except the Chaṇḍāla, as far as not Hindus, are called mlechchha, *i.e.*, all those who kill men and slaughter, animals and eat flesh of the cows."
18. See note 1a to 1g.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 181, 183, 199; Vol. II, 262, 265.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 123.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 181.
23. See Chapter on Geographical Background.
24. *Mbh., Sabhā Parvan* 2, 24, 24. note 24.
25. *Mārk. pur.*, 57. 5-15, 36-41.
26. *Mats.*, 114, 11, 39-43.
27. *Kāv.* 17.10, p. 94.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 181.
30. *Kāv.* 18.25, p. 99.
31. *Ibid.*, 17.25.
32. This particular quality of the tribal population drew derogatory comments from Karna and

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others. Amara. 6.1, p. 46; *Mbh.* VIII. 44.3, VIII. 2051, Adi, 191, 5; *Bharata* 28, 8, 28, 12; *Rāmāyaṇa*, 7, 94, 4-11, *Vāyu*, 86, 84. Hill tribes of present N.W.F.P. of Pakistan (Hazaras still retains this particular quality. They are fond of dance and music. See The New Encyclopedia Britannica Macropaedia, Vol. 3, pp. 1124-1127; Deśe Videśe of Saiyad Mujatabā Āli, pp. 157-159.; Prajñanānada, *Sangita O Samsxriti, Vol. I.* 1956, pp. 17; 114; 121-528.

33. *Mbh., Aśvamedhik Parva*, 53/53.
33a. See Chapter on Geographical Background, Notes 102 and 103.
33b. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.4.8-10; 7.94 4-11; 28.36-37.
33c. *Vāyu*, Ch. 86, V. 35-46, Ch. 87.
33d. Ingholt, *The Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, pl. 3, 38, 39 a-b, 365.
34. As on note 33a.
35. *Abhidhāna*, III. V. 24, p. 144.
36. *Vāij.*, p. 15.
37. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 254f., C.I.I., Vol. III, 1.
38. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 183.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 199.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 214.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 221.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
44. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 262, 265.
45. See Chapter on Geographical Background, pp. 8-9.
46. Ghoshrāwā Praśasti of Vīradeva, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 45 ff.
47. See Chapter on Geographical Background, pp.
48. *Chullavagga*, Ch. V, 27.4; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 2. pp. 1-52; *Jāt*, Vol. II, 87, 99. No. 200, 252; *Ibid.*, III, 115, 122-238; V. 247.
49. See note 32 and *Bharata*, Ch. II, V. 483-484 (*K.S.S.*), *Rāmayāna* I.4, 8-10; Vayu, P. Tarkaratna, Calcutta, Vangāvda 1317, Ch. 86, v. 35-46.
50. *R.V.*, i. 126.7.
51. *Mats.* 114.38-43.
52. See Chapter on Geographical Background, F.N. 105 and 106.
53. *Medhātithi on Manu.* II. 23. "If a Kshatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlechchhas, establish the system of four varnas (in the mlechchha country) and assign to mlechchas a position similar to that of Chaṇḍālas in Āryavarta, even that mlechcha country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact of impure persons or things."
54. D.R. Shahni, A Śāradā Inscription from Hund, *EI*, Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97-98; K.V. Ramesh, A Fragmentary Śāradā Inscription from Hund, *EI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, 1969, pp. 97-98; D.R. Sahni. Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum, *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32 pp. 293-301.
55. As on note 46. Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
56. *Sachau*, Vol. I, XVIII. p. 199.
57. Sharma, op. cit., p. 51.
58. See notes 46 and 54; *Watters*, I, p. 123; Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
59. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 168.
60. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp, 123, 168; *Life*, Book II, p. 54.
61. See note 51 and 52.
62. *Sachau*, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX, p. 13, Ch. LXIII, pp. 130-135; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Ch. XIII. p. 135.
63. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 300, 322, 343; Vol. II, pp. 250, 251, 252.

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Three kings of Wu-she-yen-na (Ujayana), Chih-chi-t'o (Jajhoti) and Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-la (Maheśvarapura) are Brahmana by birth. King of Sind belongs to Śūdra caste.

64. *Life*, Book II, p. 59.
65. *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 73-74.
66. *Sachau*, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX, p. 13.
67. See note 46.
68. *Mbh.*, *Śāntiparvan*, 65, 14; *Anuśāsanikaparvan*, 207, 43-44; see notes 5 and 6 above.
69. As on note 59.
70. As on note 21.
71. *Life*, Book II, pp. 54, 56-57, 60; Book V, 192-193.
72. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 16, 20, 76; *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. IX, pp. 101, 103-104. Idrisi also differentiates between royal families and ordinary members of Kshatriya caste.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 6.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
75. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 22. "Kandahar (Gandhāra) is called the country of the Rahbut (Rajput?)".
76. As on note 59.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *I-tsing*, Ch. XXXV, p. 189.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Samarichcha Kahā*, pp. 45ff.
81. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 168; *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 16.
82. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 168.
83. *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 32.
84. *Documents*, p. 61—*T'ang Shu ch*, 221b, p. 5a.
85. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 191, 50-54.
86. As on note 21.
87. See note 59.
88. *KHDS* II. 1. 438-45.
89. *Rāj.* VI. v. 176-177.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, v. 176-232.
92. *Ibid.*, v. 232f.
93. *Ibid.*, VII. v. 103, 946-1470.
94. *Ibid.*, VII. v. 103.
95. *Ibid.*, VII. v. 1550-1571.
96. *HIED*, Vol. I, Exts., pp. 12-17.
97. *Sachau*, Vol. II, Ch. LXIX, p. 156.
98. *Kāt.* v.v. 835-37; *Vedavyāsa* II.12.19; *Mts.*, 210-18; *Vedavyāsa* II.15. *I-tsing*, p. 81. "They (nuns) can be pure like a precious stone lying in the mud or a lotus flower in water, and thus their life, though called a low one, is in reality, a life of wishdom that is equal to that of an exalted person."
99. *KHDS.* II.1.438-45.
100. *Vis. Pur.* III.10, 15.
101. See note 67.
102. *Ibid.*
103. As on note 99 above.
104. *E & W.* N.S. XX. 1970, pp. 103-4, fig. 1.

104a. *Ibid.*

104b. D.R. Sahni, A Śāradā Inscription from Hund, *EI*, Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97-98.

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105. Moti Chandra, *Sārthāvaha (Prachin Bharat Kl Patha-Paddhati)*, Patna, 1953.
106. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 1-7.
106a. *Ibid.*, Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 24, Ch. IV, p. 38, 53.
107. Watters, Vol. I, pp. 123, 182, 199; Vol. II, 262, 264.
108. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro, And Indus Civilisation*, London, 1931, Vol. I, p. 27; Piggot, *Prehistoric India*, p. 153; Wheeler, *Camb. Hist. Supp.*, p. 62.
109. *Watters*, Vol. I, 123; Vol. II, pp. 262, 264; *I-tsing*, pp. 43, 45-46.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 123; *Aṣṭ. Saṁ.*, VII, 14-16, 22.
111. *MMK*, Vol. I, Ch. 10, p. 88.
112. *Dhanvantari's Nighaṇṭu*, Ch. 6, p. 227.
113. *Bhavi*, XII.3.
114. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 183, 199.
114a. *I-tsing*, pp. 43-45.
115. Piggot, *Prehistoric India*, p. 155; Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 37, *R.V.*, 29.7, 7, 29, 8; VI.17, 11, 13; VII, 12.8; V, 91, 14; *Mait. Saṁ.* III.14; *Vāj Saṁ.* XIII, 47-51; *Tait Saṁ.* IV, 2.10.1-4; *Sachau*, Vol. II, LXXVIII, pp. 131-52; *Gopatha Brāh.* III.18 and also see Note 5 and 6 above.
116. *Mbh.* VIII. 34.96.
117. *Ibid.*, *Abhidhāna*, *Martya Kāṇḍa*, V. 83-86, 304-306.
118. *Sachau*, Vol. I, pp. 182, 186; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, LXVIII, p. 151. "Animals, the killing of which is allowed, are sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceroses, the buffaloes, fish, water and land birds, as sparrows, ring droves, francolins, doves, peacocks, and other animals which are not loathsome to man or noxious.

That which is forbidden are cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame, poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales, all kinds of eggs and wine."
119. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, LXIX, p. 157.
120. *Abhidhāna*, *Martya kāṇḍa*, p. 68, v. 83-86, p. 102, v. 304-306; Watters, Vol. I, p. 122, II, p. 264.
121. *Abhidhāna*, V. 84.
122. *Mbh.*, *VIII.* 34, 71, 86, 87; *Abhidhāna*, *Martya kāṇḍa*, V. 80-86 and ff.
123. *Manu* V. 5-6; *Kūrma*, pp. 292-293, V. 11-20; *I-tsing*, pp. 137-138; *Sachau*, Vol. II, LXIII, p. 135.

"Five vegetables are forbidden to them by the religious code :—onions, garlic, a kind of gourd, a plant like the carrot called *kren* and another vegetables which grows round their tanks called nali."
124. *Kaśyapa*, pp. 46-52.
125. *Watters*, Vol. I, 181, 199, 201.
126. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 122, 183, 199.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.
128. *Baladhuri*, Pt. XVIII, Ch. II, p. 155., Pt. XIX, Ch. VII, p. 203.
129. As on note 5, 6, 7 and 8.
130. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, Pottery—Pl. 129, 9, No. 89; 91; Copper, bronze and lead objects, pl. 183, i=No. 273; Silver were, no. 187, No. 5a, 5b; No. 2, Begram No. 2, pl. IV, Figs. 7, 8; VII, 11, Pl. VII, 13, 14, Pl. X. 23; Pl. XI, 27; XII. 29, 30, XIII. 31, 32; XV, 35, 36; XVIII, 42.
131. M. Hallade, *The Gandhara style, and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*, p. 15, pl. 6.
132. *Kāśika on Pāṇini*, iv, 2. 99, p. 225; Kautilya, 2, 42. p. 294.; *Abhidhāna*, Ch. 3, v. 566-567, p. 137; *Deśināma mālā*, 2, v. 339, p. 39;
132a. *Abhidhāna*, *Martya Kāṇḍa*, p. 173, v. 566-567.
132b. *Ibid.*

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133. *Kūrma*, p. 294; *KHDS*. II, p. 795; *Gaut*. II, 25. *Ap. Dh.* S. 5. 17. 21; *Manu* XI, 94; *Ap. Dh. S.* 1.7. 21.8; *Vas Dh. S.*, 20; *Vis. Dh.*, S, 351; *Manu* XI. 54; *Yāj*. III. 22. 133-138; *Sachau*, Vol. II, LXVIII, p. 151.
134. *Ibid.*, as on note 5, 6 and 7 above.
135. *Vāyu* 80-83; *Mts*. XV;*Agni Pur* pp. 162-165; *Kūrma*, II, 17-20, *Manu*, V and IV; *Yaj*. I. 171-180;
135a. *Ibid.*
136. *Ibid.*
137. *Ibid.*
138. *The Mahābhāshya of Patañjali*, ed. by Kieelhorn, Vol. I, Bombay, 1892, 2. 8. 10, p. 475.
139. *Sachau*, Vol. II, Ch. LXIII, p. 134.
140. *Ibid.*
141. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Watters*, Vol. I pp. 123, 181.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
146. See note 29.
147. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 148.
148. Sculptures recovered from Taxila and from other sites of N.W.F.P described by Sir J. Marshall in Buddhist Art of Gandhara, and others discovered from Shotorak, Paitava Fondukistan amply demonstrate this fact, *Taxila*, Sculptures, Vol. III, p. 139, No. 189; Shotorak, Pl. XVII, 54, Pl. XVIII, 58, Pl. XX, 63; XXIII, 72; Pl. XXIX, 90; Pl. XXX, 93, 95; XXXIII, 109. H. Hallade, op. cit., Pl. 6, 21, 32, p. 67, fig. 9, pl. 81, 93.
149. *Shotorak*, Pl. XVII, 56; M. Hallade op. cit., Pl. 32, p. 41; *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 29. fig. 46.
150. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, 56; *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XVI, p. 180; Ingholt, op. cit., Pl. 303, 417.
151. *Ibid.*; *Sachau*, Vol. I, XVI, 180-81.
152. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 148; M. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 4, p. 115, pl. 85; D. Barrett, Sculptures of the Shahi period., *O.A.*, 1957, p. 58, fig. 12—Pārvatī; Ingholt, op. cit., pl. 341; 400, 401.
153. *Ibid.*
154. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 148.
155. *Ibid.*
156. D. Barrett, op. cit., figs. 9, 10, 11; *ASIAR*, 1906-07, XXXII, Kuvera and Hariti; Hallade op. cit., pl. 4, 46. 47, p. 59.
157. *ASIAR*. 1906-07, XXXII, fig. 11; M. Hallade op. cit., p. 80, pl. 48-51.
158. *Ibid.*, fig. 9; M. Hallade, op. cit., p. 60, pl. 45-47; Ingholt, op. cit., pl. 298, 299, 340. "The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics and allow their beard to grow long like the princes of India."
159. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 29; Ch. VIII, p. 76f.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*, As illustrated by finds of different sculptures from Shotorak, Shotorak pl. XXXIII, 107; *Taxila*, III, pl. 224, No. 141—devotees.
162. *Sachau*, Vol. I, XVI, pp. 179-180.
163. M. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 177, p. 226, fig. a, b, c, f, g, h.
164. As on note 162.
165. As illustrated by the numerous sculptures found in Paitava Shotorak, Fondukistan, *etc.*
166. D. Barrett, op. cit., fig. 3, 4, 9, 10, 12.
167. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 148, pp.

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167a. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XVI, p. 181.
168. *Ibid.*; M. Hallade, op. cit., XVII, pl. 177.
169. *Ibid.*; *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 11, Vol. II, p. 36; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VIII, fig. 10; pl. X. fig. 3; see note 166.
170. As on note 169. Stucco figures from Hadda, and terracotta of Fondukistan as well as stone and terracotta figures of Taxila, Sahr-i.Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, *etc.*, well illustrated this point.
171. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 9. 10.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 36; R. Sharma, *Studies in Med. Ind. Hist.*, Ch. III, pp. 23, 38.
173. *Ibid.*
174. As on note 154.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
176. As shown by the sculpture of pot-stone Parvati in the British Museum and British Museum terracottas, see note 156.
177. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 103.
180. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 93-267, pl. I, II, III, IV, VII, X, figs. 5, 7, 9.
181. H. Humback and Robert Göble, Tochi Valley Inscription in the Peshawar Museum *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. I, 1964, pp. 125-130.
182. D. W. MacDowall, The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara, *N. C.*, Seventh Series, Vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 189-224.
183. G. Bühler, 'The New Inscriptions of Toramāṇa Shah, *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, pp. 238-241.
184. As on note 84.
185. See note 181.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. I, p. 18.
188. Pahlavi script was introduced here by Darius who conquered the territories of Hindu and Gadar (at that time Gandhara). Sasanians continued to use this script here when they subdued the Little Kushanas, along with Pahlavi. Coins of Shahi Tigin, Vakhudeva, and Vāhi shows its presence in this area upto the 8th century A.D. *Later Indo-Scythians* p. 290, pl. x, 7. 8; p. 219; pl. x, 9; p. 292, pl. x. 10.
189. *Ibid.*
190. *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 62-65, pl. VII. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; See note 54; ASI AR, 1923-24, p. 69; D.R. Shahni, op. cit., Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
191. As on note 1, 3 & 4, 1b, 1c, 1d. 1f, 1g.
192. *Yāska* II, 1, 3, 4.
193. See note 191.
194. As on 1f, 1g.
195. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53.
196. B.B. Dutta, The Bakshali Mathematics, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1929, 1939.
197. See note 194. See also A.F.R. Hoernel, Bhandarkar and the Gatha Dialect, *I.A.*, 1883, pp. 89-90; Vol. XVII, 1888, pp. 33-48, 275-279.
198. See note 54 above.
199. *Ibid.*; Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
200. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 154-161, 203-214; *I-tsing* pp. 116-120.
201. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 222.
202. As on note 200.
203. See note 201; *Sachau*, Vol. II, p. 131.

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204. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123-30, 181- 183-184, 202-218.
205. *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 202.
206. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 124-26; Life, pp.54-58.
207. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.
208. *Ibid.*
209. *Ibid.*
210. *Ibid.*
211. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 181.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
213. *Ibid.*, p. 183
214. As on note 67.
215. *Faüsbal*, Vol. II, no. 253, V. 127, V. 263, III, 238, V. 247, II. 200, 99, III, 219, 18; II, 87, III, 115. 122.
216. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 208, 210, 211, 214, 217.
217. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-205, 208-212; *ASI AR*, 1908-9, pp. 38-59, 1910-11, pp. 25-32.
218. *Ibid.*
219. See note 217.
220. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 208ff.
221. *Ibid.*
222. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-214.
223. *Ibid.*, pp. 208ff.
224. As on note 46 above.
225. *Ibid.*
226. *Ibid.*
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Ibid.*
229. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 214.
230. *Ibid.*
231. *Ibid.*
232. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
233. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-161.
234. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
235. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.
236. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.
237. *Ibid.*, pp. 159.
238. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 208; *Life*, p. 56ff.
239. As on note 224 above; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 221-22.
240. *Ibid.*
241. As on note 239.
242. *Ibid.*
243. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 221.222.
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Ibid.*
246. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XII, pp. 135-136.
247. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 159-160; *I-tsing*, Ch. XXXIV, pp. 167-169.
248. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 154.
249. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.
250. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
251. *Ibid.*

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252. *Ibid.*
253. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
254. See Chapter on Political Background.
255. *Ibid.*
256. *Baladhuri*—II, pt. XVIII, 393-395-396, pp. 143-44, 146, pt. XIX, p. 163 and also chapter on Political Background.
257. *Baladhuri*, II, pt. XVIII, pp. 146-147.
258. *Ibid.*
259. *Ibid.*
260. *Ibid.*
261. See Chapter on Political Background.
262. See Chapter on Political Background.
263. *Ibid.*
264. See chapter on political Background, Note
265. As illustrated by the Coin legends of Shahi Tigin, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 291-292, pl. X, 9; Rev. legend: Śrī Shahi Tigin Devaja. Taqi Khorasan Malka—See chapter on Political Background.
266. As on note 261.
267. See note 128.
268. *Ibid.*
269. As on note 185.
270. *Ibid.*
271. Minorsny S. 10, 50, 55, 56; S 24, 20.
272. *Ibid.*
273. *Ibid.*, S. 10, 54, p. 91; *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. I, pp. 23-24; Ch. XIII, p. 137. Al-beruṇi tried to translate in slokas books of Euclid and Almagest for the Hindus.
274. *Sachau*, Ch. XII, XIII, XIV, reveals Al-biruni's intimate knowledge of the four *vedas, puranas smritis, Patañjali's Mahābhāsya, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁsa, Pañchatantra*, Grammar with its eight schools, metrical literature, astronomy, astrology and medicine.

    According to him, Caraka has been translated into Arabic for the princes of the house of Barmecides (p. 159).

    Sachau, Vol. II. Ch. 4, pp. 155ff.—"First two translators of astronomy were Al fazri and Yakub Ibn Tarikh who acquired information about star cycles from a Hindu who came to Baghdad as a member of the political mission which Sindh sent to Khalif Almansur, A. H. 154 (=A.D. 771). Muhammad Ibn Ishakhs of tried to correct the mistake among this canon.
275. As on note 105 above.
276. *Kāv.*, Ch. 11, p. 94; "Mlechchit-a-kopani-vandhana-mulamidamityeva-madibhih (:) Karaneich's-abdāharano (?)—rthāḥarano Vābhiramati ityabanti sundarī."
277. *Atri.* 197-98; *Devala*: 48-49.
278. *Ibid.*
279. *Ibid*, see *The Classical Age*, p. 569.
280. *Baladhuri*, II, Ch. XVIII, 143, 144, 145.
281. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 24; Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
282. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
283. *Ibid.*
284. *Ibid.*
285. *Ibid.*

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286. Sharma, Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
287. *Ibid.*
288. *Sachau*, Vol. I, I, pp. 19-20, 21, 22.
289. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
290. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

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CHAPTER V

Economic Condition

A

The region of Kapiśa and Gandhāra was far famed in the history for its trade and commerce from the remote ages.[1] In some *older Chinese work*, the country of Kapiśa is being described as a great rendezevous for traders.[2] The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang noticed considerable activities in trade and commerce in this valley.[3] Not only he met several caravans on his way to India,[4] but also referred to the cities of Kia-pi-si,[5] and u-to-kia-han-cha[6] (Und) where many valuable rarities were collected from other regions. It is not unlikely that these cities served the purpose of the principal trading marts of this valley. It is probable that the towns of Lan-po, Nagara and Hilo are halting stations and trade centres on the principal route of this valley. Hsüan-tsang referred to Shan horses of Kapiśa and mentioned as its product saffron and timber.[7]

In the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harshavardhana (circa A.D. 606-642), we find indirect reference to the merchantile activities of this region. Bāṇa noted that Harshavardhana's stable was full of best breeders of Araṭṭa (N. Kathiawara), Sindhu (western portion of the Lower Indus Valley), Kāmboja (N. Eastern Afghanistan), Bharadvāja, Vanāyuja (Banu district) and Pārasika (Persia).[8] All these countries were well-known to ancient Indians as the famous breeders of horses and trading in horse was carried on by these countries with the rest of India from the ancient times.[9] Bāṇa's reference indicated that it was continued to be so in the period under review. Moreover, Bāṇa also referred to the use of saffron, safflower, different varieties of wine and others in everyday life,[10] which formed a part of valuable export trade of this area in the previous ages.

While describing the marriage preparation of Rājyaśrī, he noticed various kinds of fabrics like stabrak, priṅga, netra, *etc.*, along with Kshauma (linen), Dukula (bark-silk), Lālātantuj (Muslin), *etc.*[11]

Of these, stabrak, a kind of heavy fabric, studed with pearls of jari work, originated in Persia and was exported to India through the region concerned.[12]

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Priṅga, another kind of dyed and printed silk cloth is mentioned many times in central Asian documents, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein.[13] That variety was exported to India possibly from central Asia or from China through central Asia to this region and thence to India proper. Netra was a kind of silk garment of fine and light texture, also an item of import, from central Asia.[14] The Chinese pilgrim told us that the countries of central Asia produced silk and serge, skins and woolen clothes, and traded with their neighbours in these articles.[15]

Bāṇa expressly stated that all the skilled artisans of all the countries including those weavers of different types of fabrics were invited by Prabhākaravardhana for taking part in the marriage celebration of Rājyaśrī by producing their different wares in that very city (Thaneswar).[16]

The above references of Bāṇa indicate the existence of highly flourishing trade in this region with outside world in the first half of the 7th century A.D. It is not unlikely that not only different kinds of silk fabrics, saffron, wines, were exported through this region to India but also skilled artisans including weavers and sculptors were invited by the kings of different countries of India who settled them in their respective countries.

Shortly after Hsüan-tsang's departure, Arabs appeared on the political scene as already stated.[16a] Their attention towards this area and India was drawn by its faboulous wealth.[17] Although their first and foremost objective was spreading of Islam, they were equally attracted to India by the lure of booties. As stated earlier, "in 637 A.D. Persia was conquered, and within five years the whole of Persia as far east as Herat was annexed to the growing empire of the Arabs. By A.D. 650, they advanced as far as Oxus and all the countries between the river and Hindukush were included within it."[17a]

They now turned their attention towards India. In this attempt, they came into conflict with the three bordering states of Kabul (Kapiśa-Gandhāra), Zabul and Sind. They conquered Sind in 708 A.D. But their war with these two states was a protracted one and continued with vicissitudes.[18] By the large scale looting and destruction of people and property,[19] unprecedented in its history, affected its economy greatly. Business transaction with outside world almost came to stand-still in this region as its result, specially in Kapiśa.[20] Use of a different but lesser known route from Gandhāra through Udayāna to China during these turbulant days indicates this fact.[21] Other Chinese pilgrims who came to India by the southern Chinese route, followed this road on their homeward journey.[22] Even, Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang returned by way of Anderab, Pamir region, Tarim basin to China.[23] The use of this diversionary route suggest that trade and commerce of central Asia was diverted to this highway due to the result of Muslim inroads.

In the case of Persia and Khurasan, and China free flow of commerce ceased

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for a short period through overland route and it was diverted to the sea route.[24] With the rise of the Abbasids, the affairs of Khurasan became somewhat settled.[25] In 736 A.D. Balkh was made the capital of Khurasan.[26] Possibly, trade was resumed with this area after a peace treaty was signed by the two warring sides during Al-Mamun 's reign.[27]

An earlier referred to, Caliph Al-Mamun achieved a notable victory over Kabul Shah Pathi Darmi-deva in circa A.D. 815-16.[28] Kabul Shah not only paid homage to the Caliph but also accepted Islam.[29] As a result of Kabul Shah's defeat Kabul, Gandhāra, Punjab and Sind upto frontiers of Kāśmira came under Muslim subjugation for a short while.[30] The emergence of Brahmana Shahis in the region of Kapiśa and Gandhāra also helped to stabilize the political condition of this area.

Thus, we can infer that from hence the region of Kapiśa and Gandhāra along with north western part of India were opened to the Khurasani (Musalman ?) traders from that time.

The trade once resumed, was developed very rapidly. Thus, in the *Hudud-ul-Alam*, we find reference not only to different land routes but also important centres of trade and commerce along these routes.[31]

Parvan, on the Hindukush (near Begram) was mentioned as the gateway of India.[32] Silver mines were located in two small towns of Panjhir and Jaryaba near Anderab, from which money was coined.[32a] This metal along with coined money and lapis lazuli of Badakshan were exported to India.[33] Laghman was described in the *Hudud-ul-Alam* as the emporium of Hindustan and residence of merchants from various quarters.[34]

Dynpur (Dunpur), a town situated on the bank of the Kabul river, opposite to Laghman, was the residence of merchants from all Khurasan.[35] In both these towns lived Muslim merchants and both are prosperous and pleasant.[36]

Ninhar, another trading mart of this area during 7th century is just casually mentioned without reference to its merchantile activities.[37] It is likely that this place lost its importance as a trading mart due to emergence of Dynpur. Vayhind (Und) was a large town and an important centre of commerce[38] Hindusthani merchandise such as musk, camphor, aloe wood, ambergris, pearls, corundum, diamonds, corals, as well as multifarious drugs and wonderful textiles came to this country.[39]

The description of different centres indicate certain changes. Now Muslim merchants took over the central Asian and Persian trade from the people of this area.[40] This state of affairs continued at least upto the first half of 10th century. Masudi noticed presence of Khurasani merchants in Multan.[40a] Ibn Khurdad Beh not only mentioned different trade routes but also referred to towns situated on

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these routes.[41] Ibn Haukul gave a detailed description of not only Khurasan but also of India.[41a] The *Kuvalayamālā*, refers to a caravan of Gandhāra's merchants who went to Suraparaka with horses for sell and embarked on a journey to different islands in Indian ocean[42] with the emergence of Yaminid dynasty as a dominant power, again business transaction between these two regions checked for a short while.[43] It was soon resumed.[44] Even during the days of Sultan Mahmud, we find reference to caravans travelling between Hind and Khurasan in full security.[45] This was achieved by the Sultan after a peace treaty with Ānandapāla.[46] Ānandapāla strictly adhered to the conditions of the treaty.

From the above references we can infer that a thriving trade existed here throughout the centuries except certain occasions. The people of Kapiśa and Gandhāra carried on a flourishing business with India and outside world throughout the period, except on certain occasions.

B

Trade was mainly carried through overland routes in the zone under our consideration.[46a] Though intersected and partially surrounded by mountains, the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra had within their limits a number of roads from ancient period.[47] The most important among them was the Fu-Ho (Balkh) Fan-yen-na (Bamian) Kāpiśi (Begram) Lan-po (Laghman) Pu-lu-sha-pula (Peshawar) Wu-to-ka-han-tu (Und) Ta-cha-si-la (Taxila) highway.[48] The starting point of this principal artery lay at Balkh.[49] From Balkh, the road ran in a south, south-east direction and reached Bamian on the Hindukush,[50] From here, crossing the Hindukush and a black ridge, the route reached Kāpiśi, the capital of Kāpiśi *i.e.*, the modern Kāpiśi-Begram.[51] From Kāpiśi-Begram the road ran towards east and covering a distance of 600 li reached the capital of Lan-po *i.e.*, modern Laghman.[52] Then crossing the Kabul river, the highway reached Nagara. *i.e.*, modern Jelalabad.[53] The next halt on this road was the city of Hadda.[54] From Hadda this route came to Pu-lu-sha-pu-la *i.e.*, Peshawar.[55] From here this highway ran towards north-east and again crossing the Kabul river reached Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti (Pushkarāvatī, modern Charsada in the Hastangarh group of villages).[56] The next halt is Pu-lu-sha or moder Palodhari.[57] From this city the route ran to a north-easterly direction and reached the temple of Bhīmā.[58] From Bhīmā's shrine the highway turned towards south-east and came to U-to-ka-han-tu (or Waihand, *i.e.*, modern Und.).[59] Kāpiśi-Begram and Und were two of the important centres of trade in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra where valuable rarities were collected.[60] Therefore, the principal marts and trade centres in this route in the period concerned were Bactria *i.e.* Balkh (as already referred to as the starting point), Bamian, Kapiśi-Begram (later Parvan, and Kabul), Laghman, Jelalabad (later Dynpur), Peshawar, Charsada and Und. Hadda and Palo-dheri were some of the halting stations.

From Und, crossing the Indus this route ran to Ta-cha-si-la *i.e.*, Taxila.[61]

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Here it joined the principal artery of Northern India which connected Magadha with Taxila.[62] Thus the route connected eastern India with north-western part of India. Main flow of Indian commerce passed along this route to Und and thence to Kapiśi (Begram) and Balkh. In Balkh the road converged with the great Northern and southern routes of China[63] and also with those of central Asia,[64] Persia,[65] Asia-Minor[66] and Arabia,[67] and the merchandise of all these countries came to India from Balkh along this road. Thus, this highway was the principal connecting link between India and outside would throughout the period concerned except on certain occasions.

With the arrival of the Arabs, free flow of commerce through this route was stopped for a short while, and several diversions were adopted.[68] These diversionary routes were also well-known from ancient times, but less frequented for its difficulties.[69] Of these secondary roads, the first was the diversion by which Hsüan-tsang travelled from Tsao-kuta (Ghazni) to Fa-li-shi-tang-na or Kabul through northern frontiers of Kapiśa to An-ta-lo-fa *i.e.*, Andarab.[70] From Andarab this path ran through modern Mungan, Ragh, Badakshan, Kokcha, Pamir to Kashgar and joined Southern route to China.[71] As already stated above, this was in use during the first half of the 7th centnry A.D.[72]

The next two roads joined the main thoroughfare of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra from the north. The first came from the Balti or Little Tibet through Darel, and Swat, Sālatura (Lahore) to Und[73] and the second linked Balkh-Peshawar highway to China through Tibet-Kāśmira and Swat.[74] These two ways were used during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.[75]

A number of roads converged with principal artery of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra from southern side. The first path ran from Siestan-Ghazni-Kabul to Laghman[76] and the second was the direct route from Ghazni to Laghman.[77] An western offshoot of this road joined it with Seistan-Persia and Arabia.[78]

From Und, another road ran along the left bank of the Indus to the port of Debal.[79] A continuation of this road connected Debal with Broach, Surat, *etc.*[80] Thereby indirecting that sea-trade was equally open to the traders of the regions of Kapisa and Gandhara. The *Kuvalayamālā* cited a reference to traders who went to Surat and Broach through this way and embarked on ship from there with cargoes for the islands in the Indian ocean (as earlier referred to.)[81]

All these routes existed throughout the centuries and a valuable trade was carried on between the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and India on the one hand and also with the area concerned with China, Central Asia, Persia, Arabia and the kingdoms on the shores of Caspian sea and Byzantian empire on the other,[82] except on certain occasions.

With the increase of sea-trade,[83] importance of these land routes diminished considerably.

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C

Horses, saffron, timber constituted the principal products of Kapiśa besides its fruits, spring wheat and cereals.[84]

Horses formed one of the important articles of trade of this area from the days of *Jātakas*.[85] From that period Kāmboja, Persia and region round Sindhu were famous for its high quality studs and a highly organised horse-trade was carried on between these regions and India.[86] It was continued to be same in the following centuries.[87]

In Hsüan-tsang's time Kapiśa's horses were called "Shen"[88] horses and the countries of Kāmboja, Vanāyuja, Sindhu, Araṭṭa, Bharadvāja and Persia continued to be best breeders of horses.[89] Bāṇa's reference to the horses of these different states in Harshavardhana's stable indicated that a thriving business was in existence between these countries and India. These countries retained their fame upto 13th century A.D.[90]

The horse-trade of Persia and Arabia, Balkh was carried on by the traders of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and the traders of respective countries with India through these areas under our consideration.[91] Pehoa in Rajasthan was one of the important centres of horse dealers who came to that area from the region concerned.[92] Even horse dealers of Gandhāra visited Surpāraka with their merchandise in the period under review.[93]

Saffron was one of the valuable article of trade of Kapiśa.[94] "Saffron was produced from the dried stigmas and the part of the style of saffron crocus, a cultivated form of crocus Sativus; the wild variety is also known and in some cases used. "Saffron flower blooms in late autumn. The flower is purple and the stigmas of this flower has a orange red colour and has a sweet scent."[95] It is used as perfume, dye, medicine, spice, and in beauty-care.[96]

Hsüan-tsang noticed its cultivation in Kapiśa[97] and also in the valley of Helmund. Two of the synonyms of saffron are *Vāhlika* and *Kāśmīra-janma* found in the *Koṣas* (Lexicons).[98] That is, it is a product of both these countries Bāhlika (Bactria) and Kāśmīra (Kashmir). It is likely that Kapiśa along with these three countries traded with India in this valuable article in our age. Bāṇabhaṭṭa noted its extensive use as medicine, dye, perfume, paste, powder used in cooking and beauty care of his time.[99] Rājaśekhara like Bāṇa noticed its general use in the daily life of the people of his time.[100] This indicates that though costly export items, saffron became not only a part and parcel of the daily life of the people of India during our time, but also became an item of an extensive trade with India and China, all through the centuries under consideration by Kapiśa and its neighbours. About timber we have very little information except Hsüan-tsang's.[101]

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Fruit was another export item. Rājaśekhara[102] probably referred to this trade when he mentioned grape as one of the characteristic product of North India. Early Arab historians referred to the export of fresh fruits from Kabul and its neighbouring areas to Khurasan.[103] As already stated above, Kapiśa; became a synonym for a kind of grapes like Hārahūra in later lexicons.[104] It suggests that grape was exported to India from Kapiśa.

Kapiśa was famous for its wine in ancient India called Kāpiśāyani sura, prepared from grapes.[105] Kāpiśāyana surā formed another important articles of trade of Kapiśa.[106] Asafoetida was another such article of trade, which grew wildly all over the areas of Tsao-ku-tao and Bālhika (Bactria) and Kapiśa.[107] In later years indigo was added to the list.[108] According to Idrisi, in the fertile land of Kabul a good deal of best quality indigo was cultivated.[109] It was very famous. Source of Srotohūjana or antimony has been located at Kapiśa, Sindhu and its surrounding areas by the authors of *Koṣas*[110] of our time thereby indicating a brisk trade in antimony between the countries of Kapiśa, Gandhāra, Sindhu, with India.

Idrisi also referred to the export of cotton clothes of this region to China, Khurasan and Sind.[111]

Besides Kapiśa's products, Gandhāra was noted for some of its articles. In the Sanskrit lexicons of the period concerned, Gandhāra became a synonym of Cinnabar[112] like 'Bālhika' and Kāśmīr-janma. Gandhāra was known to be the source of good quality Cinnabar to the Indian people.[113] Gandhāra was also famous for its woolen goods as early as in the days of Rig Vedas as referred to above.[114] Possibly, it was continued to be so in the period concerned. This country was reputed for its sugar cultivation.[115] Sugar-candy, a product of sugar-cane was exported to China from this area which was known to them as 'rock-honey'.[116]

Thus, the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra transacted a brisk business in horse, saffron, fruits, wine, asafoetida, antimony, lead, cinnabar, with India throughout the ages concerned. Besides their own trade, the countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra controlled the volume of Indian commerce to outside world and its vice versa.[117]

From India itself came wonderful textiles, drugs, diamonds, pearls, corundum, ambergrys, camphor, aloe-wood, musk, *etc.*, which were exported through central Asia to China on the one hand and to the countries of the Caspean Sea, Persia and Arabia on the other.[118]

From China, central Asia and Persia, Arabia were collected various kinds of silks, leather (seric skins), furs,[119] pearls,[120] precious stones,[121] gold and silver, horse *etc.*, which were exported to India through this land. These goods along with Indian merchandise were exported to western world and China by the port of Debal and Broach[122] in later part of the period concerned.

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Therefore, we can conclude that a valuable trade was in existence between the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra not only with India, but also with Khurasan, China, Iran, Iraq and the countries on the Caspian Sea-coast. Finds of Sāmanta-deva's coins in Posen in Eastern Europe points to its trade connection with the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in those days.

D

Agriculture was the most important feature of economy in every country. Here also agriculture was the mainstay of rural economy. Agriculture reached an advanced stage here and a number of cereals like wheat, barley, millet, pulses and fruits, vegetables, saffron, indigo, *etc.*, were cultivated.

Hsüan-tsang not only recorded the different crops of the land of Kabul river but also noted that they varied according to climatic conditions.[123]

According to him, colder climate of Kapiśa produced various cereals including spring wheat, barley, saffron, asafoctida and fruits.[124] In the milder climate of Lan-po "upland rice, and sugar-cane" were grown.[125] It had much wood but little fruit.[126] Nagara, though surrounded on all sides by steep mountains, had a mild climate.[127] Grain and fruits were produced in abundance.[128] Gandhāra which belonged to warm zone, with no frost and snow. This country had luxuriant crops of cereals, and a profusion of fruits and flowers.[129] It had much sugar-cane and produced sugar-candy.[130] Varaṇa (Banu) being a country of cool climate had regular crops.[131] Tsao-kuta had regular crops. According to Hsüan-tsang, early wheat was abundant and vegetation was prolific; the land produced saffron and asafoctida; the latter plant grew in the valley of Lo-mo-yin-tu.[132]

Among these cereals, crops and grains we may include wheat, barley, rice, sugar-cane, pulses, *etc.*[133] Mention may be made of grapes, apples, appricots, pears, peaches, plum, pomegranet, sweet oranges, and water melon among fruits.[134]

Besides grains and fruits saffron, and indigo and asafoctida were cultivated in this valley.[135]

Already at the end of 10th century, use of canals for irrigation was known.[135a] Al-beruṇi noted the high degree of proficiency in building ponds, canals, wells, *etc.*, of the Hindus.[136] Remains of old beds of canals, wells, acquaducts proves the importance of irrigation in the field of agriculture.[137]

Therefore, we can conclude that the region of Kapiśa and Gandhāra were rich in agriculture throughout the ages concerned.

Like every country cattle-rearing is closely associated with agriculture in this region. Horses are the characteristic animals of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and its nearby areas.[138] The people of this area was known to ancient Indians as the best horse breeders.[139] As already stated a brisk business in horse was carried on by the people of this area with India.

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Arabs included sheep in the list along with horse.[140] The wool is collected from sheep for making woolen clothes and blankets. Gandhāra was well-known for its production of woollies and blankets as early as in the time of *Rig Veda*.[140a]

E

Industry is another contributing factor of the economic life of this area in the days of Hsüan-tsang. Woolen and cotton clothes, spirit, distillary and brewary, metal works and sugar candy may be mentioned as some of the industries. Our information in this field is very meagre.

Hsüan-tsang noted the use of woolen, serge, fur and cotton clothes by the people of this area during the first half of the period under review.[141] While describing Bamian he stated that the clothes used by the people were produced locally.[142] It is possibly same in this case also, as we know woolen clothes and blankets are a speciality of this valley from the time of *Rig Veda*.[143] The sheep supplies wool for making woolen fabrics and blankets, which were exported to India. Idrisi recorded that cotton clothes were made here and exported to Khurasan, China and Sind.[144] Sugar was another important industry of Gandhāra.[145] Sugar and sugar candy were exported to China and sugar candy was known to them as rockhoney,[146] as referred to above. The Chinese knew the process of making sugar (or sugar-processing) for the first time possibly from this area.[147]

Metal working was another such industry. In Panjher and Jaryaba are two silver mines from which silver was extracted.[148] Another iron-mine was located in the Kabul valley by Idrisi.[149] It produced grey-coloured veined metal which became very sharp.[150] Most probably it is used for making swords, arrows, spears-points. knives, *etc.* Utbi said that soldiers of Brāhmanapāla, son of Ānandapala, used white swords, blue spears and yellow coats of mail.[151] This indicates the existence of a growing iron industry in this period.

Brewary and distillary may be two other industries of this area as we know the wine Kāpiśāyana was prepared in Kapiśa.

Hsüan-tsang made mention of grape wine and wine made from sugar-cane.[152] *Kāpiśāyana* or *Kāpiśāyani surā* was famous in ancient India.[153] Many tray and palaques discovered in Taxila shows the actual process of production of grape-wine in the first few centuries of the christian era.[154] At first, grapes were collected in vats with pipes. A man was trading on grapes with another on his shoulder for squeezing the syrup. The syrup, thus produced, passed to another pot through the pipe. Possibly then the syrup was stored in a cool place for some time after adding yeast, which became intoxicating drink afterwards. From the references preserved in the lexicons of the period under review, it appears that the buying and selling of distilled spirits is on the hands of a class of traders called Śuaṇḍika.[155] Even yeast

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was sold by only a class of traders named maṇḍa-hāraka.[156] It also preserved the process of brewing and distilling spirits in it which corroborated the above mentiond process, shown by the Taxila trays and plaques.[157] It seemed from the picture of the contemporary India, preserved in literature, that each type of trade and industry was taken up by a kind of guild. It is not unlikely that the industries were existed on the same basis in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra as well.

F

The medium of exchange in the land of Kapiśa and Gandhāra was money. The people of this region was the most coin-minded people of all India. Full-fledged coinage system prevailed here from the time of the Indo-Greeks, even earlier.[158] Indo-Greeks based their currency system on the coinage of their mother country.[159] They issued a lighter weight standard for India.[160] Thereafter various devices and weight standards were used by the kings of this area.[161] Money was coined in gold, silver, and copper in the previous centuries.[162]

In the period under review, Hsüan-tsang noticed the use of small gold, silver and copper coins which differed slightly from that of the other countries in appearance.[163] It is likely that these coins may mean the Sasanian-Epthalite currency which were prevalent here in the later part of sixth century and first part of 7th century A.D.

The *Hudud-ul-Alam*, a work of 10th century, noted the presence of large variety of coins in the Kabul valley.[164] According to the anonymous author of this work, "the money with which their trade was carried on, were of various kind," *e.g.*, bārdā, nākhwar, shābāni, kābuhrā, kimbān, kurā, each of them having different weight."[165] Unfortunately we have no information about all these coins except bārdā which may be a Muhammadan coin. Kabuhrā may mean the coins of Kabul valley, *i.e.*, the coins of the Hindu Shahis (of bull and horse man type).

The early Arab geographers and historians referred to tha use of Tatariaya and Tahiriya dirhams, and dinaras in and around this region.[166] Dirhams of the Arabs usually denoted a silver coin.[167] Sir A. Cunningham equated Tatariya dirhams with Gadiya (silver) coins weighing about 66 grains.[168] Tahiriya dirhams may indicate the coins of Tahirid dynasty.

The word dināra was used by Kalhana to mean both gold and copper money.[169] Al-beruṇi stated that the Hindus used the term Suvarṇa as the weight for gold measure.[170]

The different monetary names mentioned above, not only indicate the existence of gold silver and copper standards in the region concerned and its neighbouring areas but also corroborates Hsüan-tsang's statement. Moreover, it points to the flourishing condition of the trade in those days.

Silver and copper coins and later on billon coins were found in abundance in

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the zone and the period under review.[171] But no gold coin have been found except that of Kidarites[172] Sasanians[173] and one of Shahi Bhīmadeva.[174] By the term gold coin, Hsüan-tsang possibly used to mean the former. Finds of Bhīmadeva's gold coin proves the existence of a gold standard in the later part of the period under survey.

The coinage of the zone and the period under consideration may be roughly divided into two classes. Class I consists of the coins of Turkish Shahis[175] and Class II comprises the coinage of the Hindu Shahis.[176] Class I series had its prototype in Sasanian coins.[177] Class II may be generally called, based more or less on Indian device.[178]

On the basis of the types Class I coins may again be classified into two serieses. The series 'A' has on its obverse bust of king (sometimes copied the bust of Khusru II), and fire alter with attendants on its reverse. The coins of this series has been assigned to NAPKI MALKA by Cunningham who deciphered the name from the Pahlavi legend. This series bears legends in two scripts Bactrian and Pahlavi, and traces of another script.

Dr. B.N. Mukherjee reads the Pahlavi and Greek legend of one such silver coins, now preserved in the Hermitage, Leningrad, which copied the bust of Khusru II as its obverse device and fire-altar with attendants as its reverse type, as stated earlier.[179] The Pahlavi and Greek legends deciphered by Dr. Mukherjee are as follows:—

Pahlavi legend

KLM KSN

=N(A)S (A)K M(A) LK

=Nisag the Lord, or the lord of the Nisag family;

Bactrian legend

(SAH)O TARAKA NICAA

=Nisaga, the lord belonging to the Tarkhan family.[180]

Taraka Nisaga or Nisak Malka has been identified by Dr. Mukherjee with Tarkhan Nizak of the Muslim sources who ruled in Badghis region of Khurasan in 651 A.D.[181] The above-mentioned coin is dated in the year 47 *i.e.*, 667 A.D. That is this king was in occupation of Khurasan from 651 A.D. and it was still under his rule in 667 A.D. At least two variants of Nisaga Malka's coin can be noticed. The first group copied the bust of Khusru II and fire altar device with Greek and Pahlavi legends. The second group was issued with his own head or bust.[182] This group shows a beardless head of king with crescent on headdress which is surmounted by a buffalo's head and which is further adorned with wings.[183] Pahlavi legend is on the left.

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The reverse depicts usual fire altar with two attendants; an ornamental wheel over each attendants heads; two letters to left.[184]

Coins of another group has been attributed to this king by Cunningham.[185] This group reveals a beardless head of king to right with triśula in the middle of crescent on forehead and Epthalite symbols behind head. Legend is in corrupt Greek letters. Sio Shano = Śrī Shahi. Reverse has fire altar with attendants. The obverse device of this group shows several variations. Several plated coins have flag before the face with usual coin device.[186] A few bears on its obverse beardless head of king to right with two triśūlas and two crescents on headdress holding flower in right hand before face with Indian legend Śrī Shahi.[187] Another few shows a countermark on the neck Tiri in Indian letters.[188]

Therefore, it is possible that Nisak Malka issued these three groups with three types of legends for three different part of his empire. He issued both silver and copper coins. The standard weight for his silver coins range between 46 to 41 grains.[189] Weight of his copper coins vary between 52 grains to 50 grains and other two denominations vary between 47-48 and 26-23 grains.[190]

Series B may be further sub-divided into two groups on the basis of their devices. Group A continued the earlier device of king's bust and fire altar with attendants copied from the coins of Shapur II.[191] This group used Bactrian and Brahmi legends which reveals name of a king Tigino Shao.[192]

The obverse Bactrian legend has been read by Cunningham and Göbl as follows:

(1) Sri Shono or Shoho[193]and

(2) CPI TOINI SOYO=Sri Togini Sauo respectively.[194]

Dr. Mukerjee more correctly deciphers the legend as CPI TOINI SOHO= Sri Togini Soho.[195] The Brahmi legend in two lines on the reverse has been deciphered by Cunningham as Śrī Yādevi-māna Śrī[196] and by Göbl as Śrimā devī on right and Pāre Śrī on left.[197] Göbl further reads Pahlavi legend in left field as wst (Wyst=20).[198] Dr. Mukherjee deciphers the Brahmi legend as follows: On right Śrimā devī=Mother earth and on left Vasu Śrī and Pahlavi legend: BWM=year 20.[199] Year 20 may be attributed to the era of Yezdazard III 708+20=728 A.D. Another coin type in copper or billon portrays head of king on the obverse and an object on the reverse.[200] On the basis of similarity of king's bust this coin may be doubtfully attributed to this king.

Thus, Shahi Tigin issued both silver and copper coin and possibly billon also. His silver currency has several denominations and weighs about 50 grains and 46 grains.[201] His copper or billon coin weighs about .97 grammes.[202]

Second series of section B are issued by two kings Vasudeva and Vāhi.[203]

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Vas udeva's coins bears the head of king with a large wings on head dress, as on coins of Khusru II.[204]

As referred to above, Göbl and Dr. Mukherjee reconstituted the obverse Pahlavi and reverse Brahmi and Pahlavi on the basis of several coins as follows:—

Pahlavi: 1. CPI "S mr't
2. Spwr bg hwt'p
3. Whm'n'c mrt'n
4. MLK'
5. GdH/'PZWt+

Reverse: (1 or 2) Syh Krm' n svin
(2 or 3) hdw
(3 or 4)
(4 or 5) Tsv Z'wl st'n
(5 or 6) Sri Vasudeva
(I or X'o clock of inner legend).[205]

A copper coin weighs 1 gramme with some obverse and reverse device may be doubtfully attributed to this king as mentioned before.[206] The legend is in Pahlavi:

Spyr' bg' hwt'h
Trt
Zy/Z'wlstn.

Cunningham read the Pahlavi and Brahmi legends of a similar type is as follows: Pahlavi legend in inner left is X Af Zut and to inner right is Saf Varsu Tef=Sri Vasu Deva and the reginal legend is Saf Varsu Tef-Wahman x Multan Malka=Sri Vasudeva, king of Bahman Multan.[207] The reverse bears the head of sun-god with Brahmi legend to right and left.[208] According to Cunningham, Indian legend to right is Sri Vasudeva and Pahlavi legend to left is Tukan Zaulstan (India, Zabulistan) and in margin is Sapardalakshan=Sapādalaksha=(Rajputana).[209]

Another variety of Vasudeva or Vakhudeva's coins is known.[210] It bears on its obverse the head of king based on the type of Khusru II.[211] The Pahlavi legend on the obverse cannot be read. Inner legend to right is Sri...va...ra or vl. Vakhudeva.[212] Instead of Sun-god reverse portrays the usual fire altar with attendants.[213]

The silver coins of Vasudeva weigh about 52-51 grains and his copper coin weighs about 66 grains.[214] Another king Vāhi also issued coins with king's bust and Sun-god, as its obverse and reverse device.[215] Cunningham reads the corrupt Greek legend Śrī Shono and Indian legend in circle outside as Śri Hitivi-cha Airān-cha Parameśvara Śrī Shahi Tigin Devaja. "The fortunate sovereign both of India and of Persia, the fortunate Shahi Tigin, the son of Heaven."[216]

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Göbl deciphers the corrupt Greek legend as Śrī Shono as Brahmi legend as Śrī Hetivira Kharala Vāhi Tigina deva Karitām.[217] Dr. Mukherjee reads the legend as Sri Hitivira Airān cha Parameśvara Śrī Vāhi Tigina Deva Kāritam=Done by Śrī Vāhi Tigin, illustrious hero of earth (Sri Hitivira=Kshiti=Shiti=hiti=sh becomes kh), lord of Iran.[218]

Pahlavi legend on the reverse on the left Saf Takif Tef=Śrī Tigin Devaja and Tukan Khurasan Malka.[219] According to Göbl, the reading of the Pahlavi Legend is Haft=Haft=77 and on right Tygyn' HWR' S'N MALKA=Tigino Khurasan Malka=Lord of Taki and Khurasan.[220]

Cunningham's coin No. 9 in pt. X in *Later-Indo-Scythians* weighs about 52 grains.[221] According to Cunningham, average weight of Tigin's two coins vary between 48 and 52 grains conforming to the previous standard.[222]

So, Class I series of coins were issued by at least two groups of kings Nizak Malka and Shahi Tigin. Round shaped copper and silver money copied very faithfully the Sasanian currency which only differed in the use of tri-lingual legends. The trilingual legends were arranged in the left, right and on the margin of the coin type both obverse and reverse. Weight of the silver coins Series 'A' group varies between 46 to 41 grains and Group 'B' varies between 52 to 50 grains as stated above. Several denomination of the copper coins were known. The first is about 66 grains,[223] the second varies between 52 to 50 grains[224] and the third is about 46 grains[225] and the fourth ranges between 26 to 23 grains.[226] Except the first and the fourth, all other denominations were found among silver coins.[227] As the kings adopted Sasanian device in every detail it is not unlikely that they followed the same weight standard in the case of metrology also. Depiction of the device on the coins of Class I series is of good order.

Class II coinage consisted of another series of coins which bore different devices like bull and horseman, elephant and lion, lion and peacock, king on elephant *etc.*[228]

Among these, bull and horseman type, appear on the coins of Indo-Greek, Śakas, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas, Guptas and on the money of the Hūṇas.[229] But recumbent humped bull did not appear in any one of them. Introductiod of recumbent humped bull, religious symbol throughout the earlier centuries, is an unique feature of the coins of the Shahis.[230] Horseman of this series bears clear affinity to the Indo-Parthian king on horseback[231] than those of the Hūṇas who adopted it from that of the Guptas. This is probably due to the popularity of that particular coin device. This series of coins bear legends in two scripts on corrupt Greek and Śāradā.[232] At least two varieties are known. The first variety reveals name of Spalapatideva both in corrupt Greek on the reverse and Śaradā on the obverse.[233] Sāmantadevah's coinage bears remains of corrupt Greek legend which is misunderstood by successive moneyers and was replaced by simple Śāradā

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in the coins of Vakkadeua, Bhīmadeva's money.[234] But Khadavayaka's coin showed *adl* in Arabic along with Śaradā script and therefore, scholars believed him to be a subordinete ruler of the Muslims.[235] Bull and horseman type was issued in silver, copper and later in billon as well.[236] This type became the prototype of the coinage of the most states of north India in the medieval period,[237] The moneyers copied the device and the legend in every detail from the coins of Sāmantadeva except the inclusion of the issuer's name.[238] But the legends Mādhava Śrī Sāmantadeva. Aswari Śrī Sāmantadeva, may indicate that these kings not only based their coin-standard on that of the former, but also commemmorated Sāmantadeva like Bhīmadeva for some reason at present unknown.[239] (Aswari=horseman or king on horseback).

The second type has as its obverse device elephant walking to the right and legend in Śarada.[240] The Reverse portrays lion to right with its tail over back and on some coins single letters like D, Pi, R, V, appear below the lion.[241] Use of elephant and lion as types are nothing new to this area. Its presence is noticed in inscribed and uninscribed local coins of Taxila and also in punch-marked coins.[242] Elephant appeared as the first time in Eukratidis's coin as "Kāvisiye nagara devatā".[243] Thereafter, we find it again and again on the money of other Indo-Greek kings, Indo-Parthians, Scythians and Śaka Satraps.[244] It seems from the representation of elephant on Shahi coinage that it has some sort of significance. Either it signifies importance of elephant forces of Gandhāra, which is celebrated in ancient literature and Muslim chronicles,[245] or it has some religious significance. White elephant was connected with Buddhism in these regions.[246] Elephant was also the mount of Indra, king of gods. Sculptural scenes depicts in these regions Indra's attendance to Buddha.[247] In the days of Hsüan-tsang, a small town in Kapiśa was called Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse,[248] Watters rendered it as Svetavaras or Svetavat or town of Indra.[249] In either way elephant's importance in relation to Buddhism was quite well-known. Representation of elephant possibly signifies its religious importance.

The lion was depicted tor the first time on uninscribed cast coins and local coins of Taxila.[250] Some of the unassignable die-struck coins also bear the figure of lion on them.[251] The coinage of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Śakas, shows this motif, but not invariably.[252] Goddess seated on lion is found in the Kushana currency and in Gupta coins.[253] Lion is the mount of Mahishāsuramardinī Durgā, whose worship is quite common to the people of this area.[254] It is likely that the presentation of lion may be connected with this worship. This type was issued by both Sāmantadeva and Vakkadeva in copper only.[255]

The third type presents peacock with outspread wings to left on the obverse and lion to left with Indian legend Śrī Kumāra on the reverse.[256] Appearance of this motif is noticed on the punch-marked coins,[257] coins of western Satraps,

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Guptas, Maukharies and Hūṇas.[258] This type was adopted by the Shahis from one Hūṇa currency who copied it from western Satraps.[259] As is already well-known, peacock is vehicle of God Kārttikeya. This deity was venerated by the people of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period under review. The king in question possibly used this motif for that very reason.

Fourth type is only represented by a single specimen of Sāmantadeva.[260] It depicts king on elephant like the Kushanas and the Guptas.[261] A single gold coin of Bhīmadeva now forms the fifth type of this series of coins, which bears on its obverse the standing figure of king giving or receiving something from a female figure standing by his side.[262] The reverse presents a deity, seated on lotus with lotus bud and rajadanda in her left and right hand respectively.[263] This device recalls the conch-type coins of Chandragupta II and Pratāpa type coins of Kumāragupta II.[264] The legend in Śāradā reveals name of Sri Shāhi Bhīmadeva on the obverse and Śrīmad Gunaṇidi Sāmantadevaḥ on the reverse.[265] Though the idea might have been taken from the above-mentioned Gupta coins, the Shahi coin shows originality. Therefore, on the basis of the devices coinage of the Class II may be subdivided into five types.

M. D. Macdowell, again, on the basis of execution of coin devices, purity of metal, use of scripts, traced three phases of evolution in coins of Class II series.[266] According to him, as Spalapatideva's money shows better execution of the coin-device and good rendering of corrupt Greek and Śāradā script with 70% alloy of gold and silver,[267] Spalapati Deva was the first issuer of these currency in the regions concerned.[268]

The second stage in the gradual debasement of the coins can be represented by those coins with an alloy of 68%.[269] The Bactrian legend, misunderstood by successive moneyers, was gradually replaced by Śāradā script.[270] In this group, Macdowall assigned the coins of Sāmantadeva with simple and visarganta legends, those of Vakkadeva, Khadavayaka and Bhīmadeva.[271] In his opinion, Spalapatideva was the first issuer of this currency as referred to above. He was followed by Sāmantadeva and Vakkadeva, and Khadavayaka, whose coins bore the Arabic title *adl*.[272] Macdowall suggested that he must be a protegee of the Muslims who owed allegiance to them.[273]

Sāmantadeva's coins with line drawing of bull and horseman types, with a greater percentage of copper and silver contents, represents the third stage.[274] There is very little gold in these coins.[275] In Macdowall's opinion these coins were issued by Jayapāla and his successors after Sāmantadeva's death.[276] He attributed these coins to Jayapāla for whom we did not find any coins.[277]

Thus the weight remained constant but the purity of metal contents was depreciated by degrees by the introduction of higher percentage of alloy. This same

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tendency was found in the Gupta coinage where weight remained same but the latter issues contained a high percentege of alloy.

In silver, several denominations are found. The first varies between 54 to 50 grains, the second between 46-40 grains and the third is of 33 grains.[278] Like silver copper has at least six or seven denominations. They are of 52-50 grains, 46 grains, 40 grains, 30.3 grains, 23-24 grains, 19 grains, 12 grains and 5.1 grains.[279] The solitary gold coin of Bhīmadeva weighs about 68.5 grains.[280]

About the weight standard of Shahi currency, scholars are of different opinion. Sir J. Prinsep identified the weight standard of this latter group with taṅkās of three māshas.[281] However, Dr. D. B. Pandey opined that taṅkā was introduced into India after the Muslim conquest.[282] L. Gopal calls it Puraṇa weight standard of 58 grains.[283] Dr. Pandey supports his view.[284] He takes the single gold coin of Bhīmadeva weighing about 68.5 grains to be a specimen of Ardha-suvarṇa of 40 ratis (40 × 1.8 = 72.0 grains).[285]

Sir A. Cunningham identified the silver weight standard of Shahi coins with dramma (drachma) standard, known in that period and its various units.[286] In his opinion, silver coins with 54 grains average weight may be equated with Pañchiyaka-drama, known to be as piece of "five boddikas" with a full weight of 56 grains (11.2 × 5 = 56 grains).[287] Both Lalanji Gopal and D.B. Pandey's views differed from Cunningham, as already stated above. There is slight difference between two scholars regarding the last denomination. While L. Gopal takes it to be one-eighth of the standard weight (7.0 grains),[288] D. B. Pandey points to Cunningham's specimen weighing about 5.1 grains to be nearer 5.4 grains and may be taken as Addyārdha Māshaka of three ratis (3 × 8 = 5.4 grains).[289] The loss of weights of coins are taken by them due to the depreciation in coin weight at the time of their issue.[290]

In this connection it is to be noted that weight standard of the earlier kings may be taken into account. Silver and copper coins of Nisak, the lord, or Napki Malk and others reveal the earlier mentioned varieties of coin denominations such as 52-50 grains. 46.41 grains for silver, and 66 grains, 51-50 grains, 47-46 grains, 41 grains, 26-23 grains as stated above.

The resemblance between the two weight standards suggest that the latter is the continuation of the former. It may be reformed dirham standard of the Arabs. It seems Shahis continued the earlier weight standard with slight changes. All the coins of Class I and Class II are round shaped and die-struck. Though the execution of second class shows deterioration in successive stages, the depiction of the first two types of this class are of good order. Bull and horseman type of Sāmantadeva became the prototype of almost all the countries of north India except a few.

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G

Trade and commerce of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra exerted considerable influence on the life of its people. Merchantile activities formed a part and parcel of their life. These territories came to be rendezevous for traders in the former times, as stated above.[291] Hsüan-tsang noted that Bamian was one such centre which was much visited by traders.[292] The city of Kāpiśi, (possibly Laghman), Peshawar, Udakhaṇḍa, are some of the important marts of these areas where lived a number of businessmen.[293]

In the ages concerned, the residents of these countries continued the age-old business transaction in horse, saffron, wine and precious stones, silks, *etc.*, with India and different neighbours. Commerce was on the hands of Vaishyas or trading caste. But no hard and fast rule was maintained in this regard. Even, Śūdras took part in the commercial activities of these areas.[294] The *Samarihccha Kahā* and the *Kuvalayamālā* describe in detail the maritime activities of traders of Gandhāra,[295] as stated above.

At first, one of the important sreṣṭhins of Gandhāra who intend to go to a certain place made his decision known to the public and invited traders and businessmen to join his caravan for which he appointed a number of armed guards.[296] Some traders joined his caravan. They were provided with money and provisions by the former who became its leader.[297]

When preliminary arrangement for food and armed guards, and carts were made, the caravan started for their various destinations.[298] Broach and Pehoa are two of the emporiums of India, much visited by the Gandhāran horse-dealders.[299] Besides horse, they have other commodities to sell in these markets.

From the reference in the *Kuvalayamālā* it seems Gandhāran traders embarked on ships from Broach and went to visit different islands in Arabian see and Indian ocean.

The situation was changed in the later part of the ages concerned. A considerable portion of trade was now in the hands of Muslim traders.[300] Muslim businessmen lived in the cities of Kabul, Laghman, Dynpur, even in the Jayapāla's capital Und and carried on trade with Khurasan and China.[301] Khurasani traders came to visit these cities in large numbers.[302] Upto Jayapāla's time Kapiśa and Gandhāra's trade with India rested on the hands of the traders of these areas.[303] Debal and Broach acted as the two important ports of this region through which sea-trade with Persia, Ceylon, Malaya, China was carried on.[304]

Importance of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in relation to the outside world was tremendous. Not only these countries had their own business, but also these territories controlled Indian commerce as stated above. The region under

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consideration is the gateway of India. So again, business transaction with Kapiśa and Gandhāra's nearest neighbours passed through these regions. With the development of sea-trade, these areas importance to the outside world was gradually diminished.

Thus the economic history of the land of Kapiśa and Gandhāra has considerable influence upon the history of ancient India.

Notes and References

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2. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123-24; *Su-kao-seng-chuan*, Ch. 2 (No. 1493); *K'ai Yuan-lu*, Ch. 7.
3. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122, 221; pp. 64, 68, 82, 94; p. 115—Bamian, the nearest neighbour of Kapiśa was much frequented by traders.—*Life* p. 36.
4. Hsüan-tsang even noted looting of several caravans by Turkish robbers between O-ki-ni and Kieu-chi (Kuchi) and Kieu-chi and Poh-lu-kia.—*Life* pp. 36, 40, 41.
5. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 122.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 221.
7. As on note 5; Beai, *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 54.
8. *Harsha.*, Ch. 2, p. 28.
9. *Jāt.*, I, 178, 181; II, 166; III, 338; *Mbh.*, IV, 913f., VII. 38, 13; *Kautilya*, II, 25; *Cowell*, No. 5, p. 22; *Kāśikā on Pāninī*, IV, 1, 75.
10. *Harsha.*, Ch. IV, pp. 13-14; *Kādambarī*, Ch. iii, pp. 7, 12, 14; Ch. 87, 144.
11. *Harsha.*, Ch. IV, p. 14.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 14; Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary*, London, p. 50; A. Jeffry, "The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran" (*Gaekwad Oriental Series, LXXIX*, pp. 59-59; *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947-48, Appendix—"A Note on the Stavaraka Cloth," pp. 178-79.
13. As on note 11; A.M. Boyar & E.J. Rapson, *Kharosthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir A. Stein in Chinese Turkistan*, Part I & II. Texts Discovered at the Niya site, 1901, Oxford, 1920, Trans. No. 316, 318, pp. 115-116.
14. As on note 13. See also V.S. Aggrawal, *Harshacharita Eka Sanskritik Adhyana* (in Hindi), Bihar Rashtrabhasa Parishad, Patna, 1956, p. 59.
15. *Watters*, Vol. I, 48, 59, 63, 64, 74; Vol. II, pp. 275, 277, 279, 281, 289, 290, 295.
16. *Harsha.*, Ch. IV, p. 13.

16a. See Chapter on Political Background.

17. *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 23-36, 1-10, 111; *Baladhuri*, XVIII, p. 141ff.

17a. *The Classical Age*, p. 166.

18. See Chapter on Political Background.
19. *Baladhuri*, 393-401, Ch. XVIII, pp. 141-151, 152-155, 403-430, Ch. XIX, pp. 159-206.
20. *Life*, Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxviii, No. 1, p. xxix. No. 2, 3, 4; xxx, No. 6, 10, 11.
21. *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi, No. 32.
22. *Ibid.*

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23. *Watters*, Vol. II, pp. 266-306.
24. *I-tsing*, p. xxviii; also see Notes 20, 21 above.
25. *Baladhuri*, pt. XIX, 430, pp. 205, 203-4, 6.
26. See. Chapter on Political Background, f.n. 159.
27. *Baladhuri*, pt. XIX, 430, p. 203.
28. *Ibid.*, Dr. M.A. Ghafoor, "Two Lost Inscriptions Relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and North-West Regions of Pakistan," *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, 1965-68, pp. 6-11.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 10.
30. *Ibid.*, also see Chapter on Political Background, f.n. 177-187.
31. Minorsky, op. cit., S 24, 23, pp. 109-112.
32. *Ibid.*, S 23, 79, pp. 102-109.
33. *Ibid.*, S 23, 79, 24, 10, 58.
34. *Ibid.*, S 10, 54.
35. *Ibid.*, S 10, 55.
36. *Ibid.*, S 10, 54, 55.
37. *Ibid.*, S 10, 50.
38. *Ibid.*, S 10, 56.
39. *Ibid.*, S 10.
40. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 21. "The caravans for Khurasan assemble here."
41. *Ibid.*, Ibn Khurdud Beh referred to at least one route leading from Karkuz in Persia to Debal and another from Debal to Kanauj, another road linking it to Malabar coast.

41a. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 31-40; Ibn. Haukal's Account of Khurasan—translated by Major W. Anderson, *JASB*, Vol. XXII, Nos. I, to VII-1853, p. 152ff.

42. *Kuvalayamālā*, 64, 28-35; 66, 18-24; trans. 31-32.
43. *HIED*, Vol. II, Indian Reprint, Aligrah, 1952, p. 36.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*

46a. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 122, 221.

47. *The Geography of Strabo*, 15, 1. 25-28; pp. 43-44; The *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, Book VI, Ch. XI, p. 142; Book VII, Ch. I, pp. 149, 150, 151, 152; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-130, 180-224; Vol. II, pp. 262-268; She-kia-Fang-chi, pp. 30-45.
48. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 108-130, 180-224, 240-248; *She-kia-Fang-chi*, pp. 30-45; Life, pp. 51-52, 54-57, 63, 64, 67.
49. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 108-115.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 115.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 115-122.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 122-130, 180-181.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 182-83.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 184.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 184-198, 199.
56. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 214.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol, I, p 217.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 221.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 122, 221.
61. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 240.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 240-401; II, pp. 1-117; *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 54-63, 65.
63. Hsüan-tsang himself travelled through the Northern Caravan route on his way to India and

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returned by the southern route.—*Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 44, 108-115; II, 266-304; *She-kia-Fang-chi*, pp. 13-24, 24-33.

64. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 45-108.
65. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 83-122.
66. *Baladhuri*, Pt. XII, pp. 19-28; Pt. XII, pp. 31-36; Pt. XVI, pp. 39-45; Pt. XV, pp. 51-101; Pt. XVI, pp. 105-124; Pt. XVII, pp. 127-138; Pt. XVIII, pp. 141-155; Pt. XIX, pp. 159-206; Baladhuri's description of the Arab attack on all these territories leaves no doubt about the network of land routes which connected Arabia on the one hand with all these countries. Besides, Masudi and Ishtakhari, gave even minute details about the different highways connecting modern Arabia, Iran, Persia, Seistan, Kirman, Sind, and Azarbaizan, Merv, Balkh, *etc.*—*HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 18-25, 26-30, 31-40, 12-17.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Life*, Introduction, p. xxix; "The Shaman Hiuen-Chiu could not return to China through Kapiśa on account of the Arabs (between A.D. 664-70 A.D.).
69. *Travels of Fa-hsien and Sung-yun*, London, 1869, Ch. I-XIV, pp. 1-50.
70. *Watters*, Vol. III, pp. 262-269; *Life*, pp. 193-195; "Itenerary of Wu-K'ong," *Calcutta Review* July-Sept. 1922, pp. 188-193, 486-492 p. 492—reference to Wu-kong's return by Northern route to China.
71. *Watters*, Vol. II, pp. 270-290, 304; *Life*, pp. 195-198; *She-kia-Fang-chi*, p. 123.
72. *Life*, Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix, xxxii, No. 15; xxxiii, 17, No. xxix, No. 25, 26.
73. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 239-40, 225-239; *Life*, Introduction, p. xxxvi, No. 32.
74. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxxiii, Nos. 1 & 2. Itenrrary of Wu-K'ong, *Calcutta Review*, July-Sept., 1922, pp. 188-193, 486-492.
75. As on notes 71, 73, 74 above.
76. *Baladhuri*, Pt. XVIII, 396-97, pp. 145-147.
77. *Life*, pp. 192-93; Sharma, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 34. Jayapāla invaded the kingdom of Sabuktigin through Laghman-Ghazni road.
78. *Baladhuri*, Pt. XIV-XVIII, 336-401, pp. 37-155.
79. *Kuvalayamālā*, 65-15-19; p. 31; Hsüan-tsang mentioned a few of the halting stations of Sind in his itenerary. Muslim geographers gave detailed description of the port of Debal and cities of Multan, Mansura, Alor, *etc.*, situated on either western or eastern bank of lower Indus. All these cities were in a flourishing condition due to trade. According to Firishta, Shahi empire extended as far as Multan, thereby indicating the existence of route which connected Debal with Und. See also note 41 and 66 above.
80. As on note 79 above.
81. *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 31.
82. Minorsky, op. cit., S 9-11, 12-17, 18-22, 23-26, 27-36, 37-41, 42-53.
83. *I-tsing*, p. XXVIII; Sastri, *South Indian Influence in the Far East*, p. 17.
84. *Watters*. Vol. I, p. 122.
85. As on note 9.
86 *Ibid.*
87. *Kāśika on Pāninī*, IV, 7, 75; *Harsha.*, Ch. II, p. 18; *kautilya* Trans. R.P. Kangle, Bombay University, 1965, Pt. II, 2. 47, 29, p. 200; *Abhidhāna*, V, Ch. IV, p. 182.
88. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol. I, p. 54.
89. *Harsha.*, II, p. 18.
90. *Kāv.*, 17, p. 94; *Abhidhāna*, III, V. 298-318; *Vaij.*, pp. 65-71; and see note 91 and 92.
91. See note 81. "The Pehwa Prasasti of the reign of Mahendrapala," *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 184-190.
92. *Ibid.*
93. As on note 81. According to the information preserved in Pehwa Praśasti, a horsefair was held there in every Piśācha Chaturdaśī, p. 187.

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94. As on note 5.
95. George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, 1908, ii, 592-93; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1768, p. 811—"A product manufactured from the dried stigmas and part of the style of the saffron crocus, a cultivated from of erocus sativus; some of the wild forms are also employed. The purple flower which blooms in late autumn is very similar to that of common spring crocus, and the stigmas which portrude from the perianth, are of a characteristic orange red colour; the fruit is rarely formed. The Egyptians, though acquainted with the bastard saffron, do not seem to have possessed the true saffron, but it is named in the South of Sol. IV, 14 among other sweet smelling herbs. It is also mentioned by Homer and Heppocrates.

    Saffron has long been cultivated in Iran and Kashmir and supposed to have been Introduced in China by the Mongol invasion. The chief seat of cultivation in early times, however, was in Cilecia.

    Saffron was used as an ingredinant of the complicated medicines of early times, that it was much used in coockery is evidenced by many writers; the chinese used to employ it, largely and the Iranians and Spaniards still mix it with their rice."
96. References to saffron's use as dye, power, paste. medicine *etc.*, in the contemporary Indian literature suggests it popularity among the people of India, thereby indicating the existence of a valuable trade between the region concerned and India." See *Kādambarī*, pp. 12, 15, 40-41, 133, 144; *Karpuramañjarī*, V. 13, II. V. 37, 201; *Kāv.* 17, p. 94; *Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu*, p. 96.
97. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 122; II, p. 264.
98. *Abhidhāna*, III, p. 102.
99. Bāṇa refers to saffron's use as paste, powder, medicine *etc.*, in the *Harshacharita*, Ch. IV, pp. 14, 16 and in the *Kādambarī*, pp. 12, 15, 40-41, 133, 144.
100. *Kāv.* Ch. 17, p. 94; *Karpuramañjarī* I, V. 13; II, V. 37, 201
101. As on note 94.
102. *Kāv.*, Ch. 17, p. 94.
103. *Baladhuri*, pt. XIX, Ch. VIII, 430, p. 203.
104. *Kāśikā on pāninī*, IV. 2. 99; *Abhidhāna*, Ch. III, p. 171.
105. See Chapter on Geographical Background, note 3.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 264; *Abhidhāna*, III, V. 86, p. 68; *HIED*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Abhidhāna*, Ch. IV, p. 157, *Aṣṭa hr.*, II, V. 5, p. 17, X.
111. *HIED*, Vol, I, p. 92.
112. *Abhidhāna*, IV, 106-107, p. 155; V. 127, p. 158; *Aṣṭa hr.*, II. 4.
113. *Ibid.*
114. See Chapter on Geographical Background.
115. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 199-201.
116. *Ibid.*
117. Minorsky, op. cit., S 10, 14B, 54, 55, 56.
118. *Ibid.*, 8, 1, 6; S 9, 11; S 12, 27, 18-22; S 23-26; S 24, p. 109.
119. See notes 6, 11. 12, 13, 14, 15.
120. *HIED*, Vol. I. p. 11.
121. Minorsky, op. cit., S 23, 24, 24.
122. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 23, 33, 37, 76.
123. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123, 181-182, 198-199; Vol. II, p. 262-263, 265-266.
124. *Ibid.*. Vol. I, p. 122.
125. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 181-82.

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126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 183.
128. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 262-63.
132. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 265-66.
133. As on note 123 above.
134. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 177-178.
135. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 92; *Watters*, Vol. I, 122-123; Vol. II, 265-266.
135a. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 69.
136. *Sachau*, Vol. II, LXVI, pp. 144-145.
137. *ASI AR*, V, pp. 4-5.
138. As on notes 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.
139. *Ibid.*
140. As on note 135.
140a. *R.V.*, IV, V; see also note on Geographical Background.
141. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
142. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 115.
143. See note 140a; see also chapter on Geographical Background.
144. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 92.
145. As on note 115 and 116.
146. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 199, 201.
147. *Ibid.*
148. Minorsky, op. cit., §. 23, 79.
149. As on note 144.
150. *Ibid.*
151. Sharma, op. cit., p. 45.
152. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 178.
153. See Chapter on Geographical Background, note 3.
154. *Taxila*, pl. 144, no. 66-67; and wine drinking scenes on no. 63.
155. *Abhidhāna*. IV, V. 565.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. Gardner, P., *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pp. 2-173; pl. I-XXXII; Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, pp. 9-213, pl. I-XVIII; see chapter on Religious Condition, note 4.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 112-293; pl. I-X; see note 158 above.
162. *Ibid.*
163. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
164. Minorsky, op. cit., §. 10, 39.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 3, 13, pp. 24-25, 35.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 3, f.n. 4.
168. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 47-48.
169. *Rāj.*, VII, V. 144, 146.
170. *Sachau*, Ch. XV, p. 160.

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171. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 55-65, pl. VII, Nos. 1-18; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 276-298; pl. VII, Nos. 1-18, VIII, 1-17; IX.1-24; X.1-11.
172. *Ibid.*, *N.C.* 1893-94, pp. 184-95, pl. XV.
173. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-83; pl. XII, XIV.
174. A. Ghosh, "A Unique Gold Coin of the Hindu Kings of Kabul," *N.C* , sixth series, Vol. XII, 1952, pp. 133-35.
175. See note 172, pp. 289-293; pl. X, No. 5-11; Göbl, *Documents Zur Geschite Der Iranischen Hunen in Bactrien Und Indian*, Weisbaden, 1967, Vol. III, pl. 43f. and see F.N. 29 in the Chapter on Political Background.
176. Cuningham, op. cit., pp. 55-65, pl. VII, Nos. 1-18.
177. See note 175.
178. See note 176.
179. Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, A paper which will be published shortly.
180. See chapter on Political Background, p. 55, f.n. 32.
181. *Ibid.*, and also F.N. 35.
182. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 287, pl. IX, No. 24, 23.
183. *Ibid.*, p. 288, pl. X, Nos. 3 and 4.
184. *Ibid.*, pl. X, No. 3.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 287, pl. IX, No. 18.
186. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, No. 20.
187. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, No. 26.
188. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, No. 19.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 287, No. 21; p. 289, pl. X, No. 6.
190. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-89, pl. IX, 18; X, 1-3, 5; pl. IX, 19, 20, 21, 24; X, 4; pl. IX, No. 22, 26.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 289, pl. X, No. 5; *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140, Vol. III, pl. 46, Nos. a-f.
192. *Ibid.*
193. As on 191, p. 28, pl. X, No. 5.
194. *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 140, Vol. III, pl. 46. Nos. a-f.
195. See note 93 in the chapter on Political Background.
196. As on note 193.
197. As on note 194.
198. *Ibid.*
199. See Chapter on Political Background, p. 62, notes 98 and 99.
200. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, No. 101.
201. See notes 191-94.
202. As on note 200.
203. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 290-92, pl. X, Nos. 7-11. See also chapter on Political Background, p. 65.
204. *Ibid.*, f.n. 120.
205. *Ibid.*, p. 65, f.n. 121, 122.
206. *Ibid.*, p. 66, f.n. 124.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 66, f.n. 128.
208. *Ibid.*, p. 55. f.n. 123.
209. *Ibid.*, p. 66, f.n. 128.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 66, f.n. 129.
211. *Ibid.*
212. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67, f.n. 129.
213. *Ibid.*
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215. See chapter on Political Background, p. 68, f.n. 137.
216. *Later Indo-Synthians*, p. 291, pl. X, No. 9.
217. *Ibid.*, *Göbl*, Vol. I, p. 142, Vol. III, pl. 47, No. 2, 8; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 145, Vol. III, pl. 47, No. 10.
218. As on note 215, p. 68, f.n. 142.
219. As on note 216.
220. As on note 218, p. 69, f.n. 145, 146.
221. As on note 216.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 293, pl. X, No. 11.
224. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88, pl. IX, No. 18, X, No. 1-3, 5.
225. *Ibid.*, p. 287, No. 20, 21.
226. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88, pl. IX, 22, 23.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 291, pl. X, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 6; Pl. IX, No. 21.
228. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 62-65, pl. VII, Nos. 1-18.
229. As on note 158 above.
230. As on note 228, p. 63, Nos, 5-9, pl. VII, 5-9.
231. See G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, *The Coin Types of Śaka-Pahlava Kings, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 4, pl. 1.
232. See note 228.
233. See note 230.
234. Macdowall, op. cit., pp. 193, 195.
235. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
236. As on note 232.
237. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 76-93.
238. *Ibid.*
239. *Ibid.*
240. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 62-63, No. 2 & 3, p. 65, No. 24.
241. *Ibid.*
242. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, Pt. III, p. 86-97, Pt. IV, p. 218; As on note 5, 6 above; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 199.
243. Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, p. 26, No. 131.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 19, No. 59, p. 24, No. 145, 149, p. 31, No. 157-158, p. 36, No. 212, p. 40, No. 231-253.
245. *HIED*, Vol. I, Extracts : *Surul Baldan* Rashid ud-din.
246. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 218-21.
247. *Taxila*, III, pl. 219, No. 105, pl. 220, No. 114, No. 117, 118, pl. 221, No. 121; Inghoit, fig. Nos. 188, 189, 190, 92, 66, 59.
248. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 126.
249. *Ibid.*
250. Allan, op. cit., p. 98, Nos. 137-140; p. 234, Nos. 161-162; 168, pp. 237, No. 5-12.
251. *Ibid.*, pt. IV, p. 283, Nos. 30-36, pl. XX, No. 10.
252. Whitehead, op. cit., p. 121, No. 220, p. 125, No. 257, p. 158, No. 84, p. 159, Nos. 91-92.
253. *Ibid.*, pl. XX, Nos. 91-92.
254. See chapter on Religious Condition.
255. See note 240.
256. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 62, No. 1, pl. VII, No. 1.
257. Allan, op. cit., p. 25, Nos. 1-17, p. 276, Nos. 82-97.

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258. *Cat. of Coins if tge Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XV, Nos. 5-14; pl XXI. Nos. 13-31; pl. XXIV, Nos. 13, 14, 15.
259. Rapson, *A Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, p. CXXX, iii;
260. D.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 188.
261. Whitehead, op. cit., p. 198, Nos. 137-152; *Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XV, No. 16.
262. A. Ghosh, op. cit.
263. *Ibid.*
264. *Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* p. 87, Np. 257.
265. As on note 262.
266. Macdowall, op. cit., pp. 193ff.
267. *Ibid.*
268. *Ibid.*
269. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
270. *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 195.
271. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-213.
272. *Ibid.*
273. *Ibid.*
274. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
275. *Ibid.*
276. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-213.
277. *Ibid.*
278. *Ibid.*, As on note 171, 174, 175.
279. *Ibid.*
280. A. Ghosh, op, cit.
281. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiqities*, London, 1858, Vol. II, p. 303.
282. Pandey, op. cit., pp. 193-94.
283. L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 182.
284. Pandey, op. cit.
285. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
286. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 51.
287. *Ibid.*
288. L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 183.
289. Pandey, op. cit.
290. As on notes 288, 289.
291. As on note 2 above.
292. *Ibid.*
293. See notes 4, 5, 6.
294. See note 42.
295. *Ibid.*
296. *Ibid.*
297. *Ibid.*
298. *Ibid.*
299. *Ibid.*
300. See notes 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 41a, 42.
301. *Ibid.*, notes 36, 39, 40, 41, 41a, 42.
302. *Ibid.*
303. As on notes 92 and 93.
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CHAPTER VI

Religious Condition of Kapisa and Gandhara

A

Kapiśa and Gandhāra were meeting places of various religious faiths from a period much earlier than that with which we are concerned.[1] Not only Brahmanical religion[2] and Buddhism,[3] but also Iranian faiths[4] and even a few Hellenistic cults[5] had exerted influence in varying degrees over these regions in the early centuries of Christian Era. Hence it will be of interest to study the position of these religious systems in the period under review. Moreover, we shall have to take into account the impact of Islam, on these areas during that time since this religion influenced areas near Kapiśa within a few decades of its birth.

B

In the 7th century A.D. the influence of Buddhism was already on the decline in many parts of North India.[6] Although Mahāyāna Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Kapiśa, it was gradually declining in Lan-po, Nagara and Gandhāra and Fa-la-na.[7]

Many a ruined stupas and deserted monasteries bear testimony to this fact.[8] Buddhism lingered in this area upto 9th-10th centuries A.D.[9] Wu-k'ong[10] and Hye-chao[11] noticed royal munificence in this field. But it never regained the position and honour which it enjoyed in this region from Ist century to 4th century A.D.[12]

The schism of Buddhism into Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna appeared in it long before the period under review.[13] Both the schools existed in Kapiśa and Gandhāra during this period.[14] Brethren belonging to the different sects of Hīnayāna and those of Mahāyāna, lived in these territories side by side, sometimes in the same monastery.[15] Of the eighteen schools of Hināyāna, mention may be made of only Sarvāstivādins and Mahisāsakas in Kapiśa and Gandhāra and its nearby areas.[16] The formers was one of the most influential sect in Kapiśa, Gandhāra, Kāśmīra and surrounding areas in the days of Kanishka.[17] Presence of the Sarvāstivādins in

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Kapiśa[18] in the first half of the 7th century A.D. indicates that it was still of some importance here.

Hostages Monastery in the capital of Kapiśa, Kanishka stupa and Mahāvihāra in Gandhāra and another religious establishments near Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti (Pushkarāvatī) were some of the centres of Hīnayāna Buddhism mentioned by Hsüan-tsang.[19]

Mahāyānists were in the majority in Kapiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra and Fa-la-na and Tsaokuta.[20] At least 6000 Brethren resided in the monasteries of Kapiśa alone.[21]

The Mahāyānist brethren's stronghold was the Mahāyānist monastery at the capital of Kapiśa.[22] This temple had one Doctor of the Tri-Piṭakas, Āryavarma of the Sarvāstivādins and others as its residents.[23] But the number of Buddhist Brethren in Lan-Po, and other countries except Nagara, Tsaokuta and Fa-la-na was very limited.[24] In one monastery near the Po-lu-sha, a city of Gandhāra only fifty Mahayanist Brethren lived.[25]

C

The rites and rituals described by the Chinese pilgrim revealed that the Hīnāyānist carefully followed the Vinaya rules.[26] They observed upasatha and Rain-Rest.[27] They held religious assemblies, one at the beginning and one at the conclusion of their Rain Rest.[28] Here religious scriptures were recited and gifts given by the lay devotees, were accepted.[29]

In both the schools, worship of sacred relics, stupas enshrining sacred relics, Śākya Buddha were performed.[30] Five Dhyānī Buddhas, Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya future Buddhas and a host of lesser divinities played an important part in Mahāyāna.[31]

The stupas containing sacred relics and the shrines of sacred relics were scattered all over the region.[32] At least, erection of six stupas were attributed to Aśoka.[33] Kanishka was the builder of a number of other famous stupas in this area.[34] Kanishka stupa was one such monument.[35]

Hsüan-tsang even located a few stupas which commemorated the *Jātaka* stories of Dīpankara Buddha, Kunāla, Sāma, Vessāntara *etc.*, and other stories connected with Nāgas and Kanishka.[36]

The town of Hilo (Hadda) was celebrated in history for its shrine of Buddha's ushnīsha-bone.[37] The ushnīshabone (cranial portubearance of Buddha), his scull, one of his eyes, his mendicants staff, and one of his clerical robes were preserved in a decorated two storeyed building in Hilo.[38] The ushnisha bone in Hilo was "twelve inches in circumference, with hairpores distinct and of a yellowish white colour."[39]

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"Pilgrims, who visited this place, made a fragrant plaster and with it took a cast of the upper surface of the bone, and according to their Karma read in the traces on the plaster their weal and woe."[40] Hsüan-tsang got a representation of Bodhi tree and his companion a lotus.[41] The Brahmin attendant was overjoyed with these representations.[42] He said that the two would surely receive in future perfect knowledge.[43]

Another shrine of the sacred relic was found in the capital of Kapiśa, on the bank of a large river.[44] The old king's monastery in Kapiśa contained a part of the ushnīshabone, and hair of Śākya Buddha (violet in colour).[45] Watters while translating the parah said that the whole ushnīsha-bone was preserved in Hilo.[46] Therefore, a part of ushnīshabone's presence at the same time at two different places could not be possible. In his opinion, it was a mistake on the part of the Chinese pilgrim.[47]

But it appears from Hsüan-tsang's description, that the relic whatever, it may be, is very sacred to the people. The king of Kapiśa and his ministers worshipped it on six fast days.[48]

It is interesting to note here that the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, although inculcated the efficacy of Tantra, referred to Kapiśa as one of the Siddhikshetras (where one would obtain perfect knowledge if he recited several mantras and practised usual rites.[49] The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* mentioned several deities each of whom the devotees will worship for receiving perfect knowledge.[50] Ushnīsha-Rājña was mentioned as the divinity per excellence of Kapiśa and Bactria and Swat.[51]

Shadow of the Buddha left in the Gopāla cave was one of the sacred places of Nagara.[52] The Buddha left his shadow here after converting Gopala dragon (Nāga).[53]

The stupas, vihāras, saṅghāramas depicted scenes from the life stories of the Śākya Buddha, worship of the Buddha, Dhyānī Buddhas, Bodhisattvas like Avolokiteśvara, Maitreya, and others, Yakshas, Yakshiṇīs, Nāgas, *etc.*[54]

Worship of Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs and Nāgas were also incorporated into Buddhism long before our Period.[55] During the period under survey the spirits and semi-divine beings exerted considerable influence.[56]

Vaiśravanadeva, the king of the Yakshas held an important place as a guardian deity and the lord of the buried treasures of the monastery.[57] In Hostages Monastery in Kapiśa, treasurers were deposited beneath the feet of this god, which could not be taken out on account of Vaiśravanadeva's interference.[58] With Hsüan-tsang's help the priests of this monastery were able to take out a portion of treasures needed for the repair of the monastery.[59] Worship of Yakshinī Hāritī as the

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guardian deity of a monastry was a legacy of the earlier period.[60] Pañchika and Hāritī were worshipped as god and goddess, giver of children in the areas concerned.[61]

Again, the *Mahāmayūrī* (Tibetan translation) inculcated worship of Yaksha Nalakuvara and Lankesvara in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[62] Large number of Yaksha heads from Hadda[63] also points to some connection with Yaksha worship in this region.

The worship of the Buddha is performed with offerings of flowers and incense and giving banners and making presents, besides prostration and recitation of mantras *etc.*[64] Both Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing noted that music and singing accompanied the performance of worship of the Buddha.[65]

Besides, one of the famous festivals of Mahāyāna Buddhism was Moksha Parishad.[66] The king of Kapiśa held this festival every year like Harshavardhana's quiniquennial assembly.[67] One eighteen feet silver image of the Buddha was caused to be made by the king during the session of the Moksha Parishad.[68] The king gave liberally to the needy and the bereaved (or widow and widowers) in this assembly.[69]

Another notable feature of the religious life of this period was holding of religious assemblies.[70] The different viharas conducted this type of assemblies for ascertaining the religious merit of its Brethren.[71] Kanishka Mahāvihāra was one such centre which invited eminent Brethren to discuss religion and gave distinction to men of illustrious merit.[72] Kanishka Mahāvihara produced many well-known scholars and writers of Buddhist religion and philosophy like Pārśva, Manoratha, Āsaṅga, Vasuvandhu, Nārāyanadeva, Dharmatrāta and others.[73]

The king of Kapiśa was very fond of holding religious assemblies and conducted one such assembly in the monastery of the Great vehicle during the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit.[74] The Chinese pilgrim and his companion Prājñākara, the Doctor of the Three Piṭakas, Āryavarma of the Sarvāstivādins, Guṇabhadra of Mahisāsakas and all the peoble who came to join this assembly took part in it.[75] Its session was held for five days. Hsüan-tsang, Prajñākara, Guṇabhadra, Āryavarma, Manojñaghosha and others debated the knotty problems of religion in the temple of the Great vehicle.[76] The acquirements of Hsüan-tsang's antagonists, however, were not universal, but confined to one or other points in the Great and Little vehicle, as the case might be, and although clear on that point, yet narrowed in its extent.[77] But the Chinese pilgrim thoroughly examined their teaching and answered their questions put to him by all participants according to several system of doctrines, so that all present were forced to acknowledge his superiority.[78] The king gave five pieces of silk as a distinct present to him and suitable offerings to others.[79]

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Thus, the Buddhism of this period was a curious admixture of faiths, beliefs which prevailed in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

Buddhism undergoes further changes in this and in the following centuries.[80] Its transformation into Tantrayāna heralded the last stage of Buddhism in this area and in India as well.[81]

In Tantrayāna, Buddha was described as Ādi-Buddha.[82] From Buddha emanated Boddhisattva Avolokiteśvara and later on Tārā and other Boddhisattvas.[83] In Tantrayāna, recitation of mantras or magical spells, charms, mudrās, yantras played an important part.[84]

Hsüan-tsang's above-mentioned description indicates that in his time, rituals, beliefs in miracle and magic and belief in spirits played considerable part in Buddhism and began to replace original ethical and philosophical principles inculcated by the Buddha. The Chinese pilgrim noted the existence of a cave in Kapiśa dedicated to Avolokiteśvara[85] and another shrine to Yakshinī Hāritī[86] in Gandhāra.

As already stated *Āryamañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* which described endless mudrās, maṇḍalas, kriyās, charyās and yantras, furnished a list of holy places for a quick success in Mantra cult.[87] Kapiśa was mentioned as one of them. One may attain success in mantra cult by worshipping ushnīsha-rājña here,[88] as stated earlier.

It is interesting to note here that Āsaṅga, the famous Buddhist scholar of Gandhāra is called the originator of Buddhist Tantra.[89] The tradition said that the yogic practices propounded by Āsaṅga led to the growth of esotoricism which in course of time became Tantricism.[90]

It is not unlikely that Āsaṅga's influence helps to spread Tantricism in this area. Tantricism is not confined to Buddhism and represents a common phase of development both in Buddhist and Brahmanical religions.[91]

This paved the way of absorption of Buddhism into Brahmanism. Gods and Goddesses like Umā-Maheśvara, Kārttikeya, Indra, Agni, are common to both the religions and are mentioned as gods and goddesses of Kapiśa.[92]

In the Swat valley rock-cut sculptures, Śiva is represented many a times with a number of Boddhisattvas.[93] For the want of further evidence, we can at least presume that like Buddhism in India, here also a part of Buddhism is gradually merged into Brahmanism. Although much diminished, Buddhism retained its separate entity upto 11th century.[94] Al-beruṇi referred to them as shamanas and said that they were related to Brahmans much more than any other religion of this area.[95] With the propagation of Islam, Buddhism like Brahmanism became extinct.[96]

Among the causes of the decline of Buddhism in this area mention may be made of loss of royal patronage,[97] and those of trading casts and common people. As it appears, from the numerous finds of statues of Śiva-Pārvatī, Kārttikeya-

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Vishṇu, Brahmā-Vishṇu-Maheśvara, and three and four-headed icons of Vishṇu and Śiva, simple form of their worship appealed more to the people of the regions concerned than the intricate methods of worship of the Buddha and his pantheon. As stated earlier, propagation of Islam destroyed the last vestige of Buddhism here.[98]

D

The second contributing factor in the religious condition of this period, in areas concerned, is the re-emergence of Brahmanism.[99] As a result of Buddhism's decline, Brahmanism came into prominence, as stated above. Worship of Śiva, Dūrgā, Gaṇapati, Kārttikeya, Sūrya, Vishṇu, common to Pañchāyatana Pūjaś, are quite well-known among the people of this region.[100]

From the time of the Indo-Greeks upto the rule of the Hūṇas, Saivism was one of the dominant religion of this area.[101] Though overshadowed by Buddhism it held its own against that faith during this period.[102] In the first half of the 7th century this faith became one of the most important religion of this area and drew a large number of devotees to its fold.[103]

The Chinese pilgrim noticed the prevalence of Saivism in Kapiśa, Gandhāra, Fa-la-na.[104] Even the neighbouring countries of A-Tien-p'o-chih-lo, Lang-ki-lo, A-Fantu, Tsao-kuta very much favoured the cult of Śiva.[105] A great many temples adorned the different cities of all these countries.[106] Most of them were dedicated to Śiva. Especially the shrine of Maheśvara deva near the Bhīmadevī temple, another at the Western Gate of Pushkalāvatī and another at Tsao-kuta were famous centres of the Pāśupatas.[107] The ash-smearing Tirthikas practised much worship here.[108] Prevalence of Saivism as one of the most important religion of this area is also supported by archaeological evidence.[109] Excavation of the ruins in the Mound 'E' of Sahr-i-Bahlol reveals a curious fact.[110] The mound 'E' originally belonged to a Buddhist religious establishment. Later on, it was converted into a Śiva temple.[111] In Hund, ruins of a marble temple indicates that it belongs to the cult of Śiva.[112] A great many numbers of anthromorphic and thereomorphic images found among the archaeological remains of Kapiśa and Gandhāra amply testify to its popularity.[113]

As stated above, with the rise of the Brahmana Shahis, this faith won royal patronage.[114] Most of the Shahi kings were devotees of Śiva.[115] Representations of Śiva by his animal form or his vehicle Nandi became one of the important coin device of the Shahis.[116]

Although inscriptions found from the areas concerned are fragmentary in nature, they throw some interesting light on the condition of this religion. The majority of the epigraphs record the construction of the temple of Mahādeva.[117] Sometimes believers of other faiths were also connected with the construction of

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such shrines. Queen Kāmeśvarī appointed one sun-worshipper to supervise the construction of the Śiva temple.[118] Another inscription inculcates the idea of oneness of Brahmā, Vishṇu, Maheśvara.[119] Śiva's worship in his Saumya and Raudra and female forms are well-known.[120]

Of the four principal sects of Saivism, the Pāśupatas,[121] and Kapāladharins[122] were known. Presence of Mukha-liṅgas,[123] portable liṅga-shaped sanctuaries,[124] carried by Liṅgāyatas, three-headed images of Śiva[125] suggests that other sects had also a footing among the people of this region. Specially, the three-headed Śiva images, as already mentioned, which portrayed the god in his Saumya, Ghora and female forms, were unique feature of the Saivism of this area. Frescoe painting from Dandanulique and other central Asian frescoes represented Śiva in this particular form.[126] This representation of Śiva from Dandan ulique and in the areas concerned suggest that they are related to each other and may belong to a particular sect, unknown at present. A bronze portable liṅga-shaped sanctuary which was moulded from a stone original[127] indicates the presence of Liṅgāyatas, an well-known sect of South India.

Thus, from the above account, it can be gleanned that this faith exerted considerable influence on the religious life of the people of this particular zone from the 7th century onwards till the invasion of the Muslims. This is probably due to the fact that the Saivas cared little for caste and āśrama rules and admitted casteless foreigners into their fold.[128] The Śūdras and women were allowed to have dikshā and to worship the deity.[129] This is not unlikely, for that very reason Saivism flourished here from very early times.

The cult of Devī was closely associated with Saivism, Here also Devī is represented as the wife (Śakti) of Mahādeva.[130] Besides, she was worshipped as the paramount or supreme lord *i.e.* Mahishāsuramardinī Dūrgā by her devotees.[131] Unfortunately, we have very little evidence in our possession about this cult. In the period under consideration, worship of Mahishāsuramardiṇī was well-known all over India.[132] She is portrayed both in her ugra and benign forms in the sculptures of this period.

In Gandhāra, Dūrgā was known as Bhīma or Bhīmalā (the terrible one).[133] The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang noticed the temple of Bhīma devī on a lofty mountain near Udabhāṇḍapura (Und).[134] This shrine is located on the Karmar hill by Foucher.[135]

Bhīmā is called one of the terrible incarnations of Dūrgā[136] for the destruction of Asuras in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Pūrāṇa.* According to Hsüan-tsang, her natural image had a dark blue colour.[137] This recalls its close resemblance to Kālī, another terrible incarnation of Dūrgā. Dūrgā is also called Gāndhārī.[138]

According to the Chinese pilgrim, it was one of the well-known centres of

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Saktism.[139] In his opinion, the devotees from far and near, rich and poor visited this shrine.[140] After fasting for seven days, and after worshipping the deity, the devotees were able to get her darśana who granted their prayers.[141]

Discovery of marble sculptures of Dūrgā Mahishāsuramardinī from Kapiśa,[142] another from Tsao-kuta[143] well illustrate its worship in this period. Another rock-cut image of an unknown Devī is also found from Swat.[144] The image depicts one eight-handed female figure killing an ibex with triśūla.[145] This figure has some connection with the worship of Dūrgā unknown at present.

A female figure with a goose, now in the Peshawar Museum,[146] probably points to the prevalence of Saraswati worship in this region.

The antiquity of the cult of Kārttikeya in the regions concerned, dates back to second century of the Christian Era.[147] The representation of Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha, Mahāsena in the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, recovered from these areas, amply demonstrates his popularity with the Kushanas in these parts and elsewhere.[148]

There is one particular reason why Skanda Kārttikeya was specially venerated by foreigners. 'Most of them came to the country as invaders and adopted Indian religion. All of them belonged to war-like tribes of Central Asia except a few. The Indian worlord therefore, soon attracted their reverential notice and became their favourite god.' Moreover, his worship as the Kumāra, the lord of the Kumārakas, *i.e.*, the gaṇas of Śiva who plagued the children was also known.[149] He was worshipped with toys, images, of cocks *etc.*, in all over India.[150] Cock and his mount peacock always accompanied the images Kārttikeya here and elsewhere in India.[151]

Veneration for this god continued in the following centuries. This is testified by the issue of coins of Hūṇa king Toramāṇa bearing the device of a peacock with outspread wings like that on Kumāragupta's coin.[152]

During the period under review this god was worshipped by a number of people in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[153] Skanda-Kārttikeya is generally represented in the coins of Shahi king Kamara (Kumara ?) by the mount of this divinity, peacock.[154] A number of sculptural representation of this god from Taxila, Mahavan, Attock, *etc.*,[155] has come to light. He is generally depicted as standing, facing, holding spear in his right hand and a cock in his left hand, wearing dhoti, ornamental cap, high boots, ear-rings, necklace *etc.*[156] Standing figure of the peacock accompanied the deity.

Thus all these finds tend to show that Kārttikeya was worshipped as one of the important deity of this region and exercised considerable influence on the religious life of the people during this period.

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Gaṇeśa is also venerated by the people of the region concerned. Worship of Ganeśa in the region concerned dates back to 5th century A.D.[157] One terracotta plaque found from Akra in Baṇu district, N.W.F.P., Pakistan reveals a figure of Gaṇeśa.[157a] Two other marble stone images of Gaṇeśa has been found from Kabul itself.[157b] This points to its veneration by the people of the region.

The discovery of a number of Viṣṇu images from this region attests to the widespread prevalence of Vishṇu worship.[158] The Dewai inscription compares Shahi Bhīmadeva with the likeness of Vishṇu.[159] Kalhana's *Rājataraṅginī* mentioned that Shahi Bhīmadeva, grandfather of Queen Diddā erected a temple of Vishṇu in Kāśmīra during the reign of the latter.[160] The above statement suggests that Shahi Bhīmadeva was a follower of Vishṇu. Sir A. Stein identified this temple with the Muslim Ziarat at Bumzu.[161] Originally, the Bumzu shrine was a Hindu place of worship which was converted to a Muslim Ziarat in a later period.[162] Alberuṇi also referred to Vaishnavism as one of the important religion of North-West India.[163]

Different icons of this god recovered from this area depicts him in standing and seated poses holding usual attributes.[164] Unlike Saivism no centre of Vaishnavism was known at present. Three or four headed Vishṇu images show the prevalence of Vyuha[165] cult, which is most popular in Kāśmīra, and surrounding areas during this period.[166] Possibly this is a side effect of Kāśmira's political influence over Gandhāra. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Vaishnavism was another sect of some importance here.

Sun-worship, which was a legacy of the Aryans[167] and Sasanians[168] here, was continued by their descendants in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[169] This is evidenced by the statement of Hsüan-tsang, plaques discovered from Jelalabad,[170] triple shrine at Khair Khaneh,[171] and the inscription of Queen Kāmeśvarī.[172]

Existence of the famous sun temple at Mūlasthānapura (Multan) in a nearby area of Gandhāra throughout the period under consideration[173] another image of sun with his shrine at Khair Khaneh[174] (Afghanistan) assigned to 6th-7th centuries A.D. and a number of plaques and the fresco of sun-god at Bamian,[175] and other places, indicate its popularity in the region concerned.

Inscription of Mahārājñi Kāmeśvarī, definitely called two people as Sūrya-dvija or sun-worshippers.[176] To Jayantarāja, an inhabitant of Avantī, she assigned the task of supervising the construction of the temple and to Śrī Bhogika son of Śrī-Vihinda, she bestowed the work of scribe who composed and wrote the inscription.[177]

From the *Brihat Saṁhitā*[178] and from the *Purāṇas*[179] written during the period under survey and also from Al-beruṇi[180] we know that Śakadvīpi or Maga Brahmanas, *i.e.*, Iranians became the priests of the Sun. Like Indian Solar cult, it

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was well-known in Iran from the ancient period.[181] Possibly solar cult of this area was influenced by that of Iran.

E

Fire worship, was another faith which influenced the religious life of the people of this area from ancient times.[182] In a large number of Indo-Sasanian coins of this region, fire-alter and attendants became the principal coin device.[183] The coins of NSK MALKA shows a deity with flames issuing from his shoulders and hair.[184] This divinity is identified with the fire God of Iran.[185] Hsüan-tsang and Al-beruṇi noticed the prevalence of fire worship in the neighbouring countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[186] According to Hsüan-tsang, kings punished followers of other faiths except fire-worshippers in Central Asian countries.[187] Moreover, Al-beruṇi observed that the Shamanas were ousted from the neighbouring countries of the regions concerned due to re-emergence of fire-worship.[188] Specially, the Sasanid kings[189] patronised the cult of fire.

Therefore, we can at least state that fire worship is another common cult in the regions concerned during the period under review.

F

Jainism was never popular in this area. However, its existencc in certain areas, is perhaps indicated by the statement of Hsüan-tsang.[190] The Chinese pilgrim located Digambara Jainas at Kapiśa and Svetāmbaras in Siṁhapura.[191] But, it appears from the references preserved in the Jaina texts,[192] that Taxila must have been a famous centre of Jainism in the period concerned with vast number of Jaina edifices, some of which were no doubt, of considerable magnificence. According to Cunningham, shrines 'F' and 'G' at Sirkap represents the Jaina establishments of Taxila.[193]

Thus from the above account we can conclude that Buddhism as well as Jainism and fire-worship existed here side by side with Brahmanism at the same time until coming of the Islam which gradually at first and speedily in the eleventh century changed altogether this condition.

India, (also the regions of Laghman-Gandhāra at that time known as a part of Hind or India) land of infidels and polytheists, attracted attention of the Arabs from the time of Caliph Omar.[194] It is the sacred duty of every Muslim ruler to make war upon them.[195] To them, war against infidels means opening up of new territory for Islam and Allah.[196] To achieve this they followed three paths, *viz.*, (1) the conquest of the land and forcible conversion of people,[197] (2) to make a treaty with the people exacting tribute from them and left them to follow their own calling or to invite them to embrace Islam[198] and peaceful penetration, *i.e.*, through the saints and preachers who propagated their faiths.[199]

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All these policies were followed in propagating Islam in the regions concerned from the middle of the 7th century upto first two decades of 11th century A.D.[200] We could trace three stages in their attempt. In the first stage, the policy of fire and sword was applied. sometimes along with the second method described above.[201] As already stated above, Arabs lodged two pronged attacks in the surrounding kingdoms of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. One was made by way of Seistan, Zabulistan, Kabul[202] and another was made through Khurasan-Balkh-Panjshir.[203] Whenever, possible, they converted people forcibly.[204] The people in their turn ousted the Muslims as soon as possible and returned to their former faith.[205] The Arabs made treaty with a number of kingdoms and cities in and around the regions concerned.[206] In return of a land tax Kharaj and Jiniya they were left alone to follow their own faiths like christians *etc.*[207] If, they failed to pay the tax or if they revolted, the invading army, if possible, occupied the land and forcibly converted them to Islam and carried on a large scale massacre, and looting of property and people.[208] This stage can be noticed from 7th to 9th centuries A.D.[209] The second phase began after the fall of Kabul Shah Maharaj Bani Dumi Pathi Darmideva in 815 A.D.[210] The king and his subjects were invited by the Caliph to embrace Islam. The king himself accepted Islam on certain conditions and professed Islam.[211] He visited the Caliph in Merv in person.[212] Islam was propagated and pulpits were raised.[213] In this connection mention may be made of Caliph Omar II who is visited the people of Khurasan to accept Islam.[214] According to Baladhuri, those people who accepted Islam[215] were exempted from Kharaj (land tax and Jijiya. Mosques and pulpits were raised for the benefit of the new converts and the city of Balkh was rebuilt.[216] Possibly this step on the part of Omar II, made the task of propagating Islam in Kabul and nearby areas easier. In the end of the 10th century Muslim merchants resided peacefully in the cities of Kabul, Panjshir, Laghman and Dynpur.[217] The king of Laghman was a Muslim ruler who made show of Islam and had many wives.[218] Even in the Shahi capital Und, Muslim merchants lived amicably with others.[219] Muslims were allowed to carry on their religion without any hindrance.

The third policy was used during the end of the period when the Shahi empire came under Sultan Mahmud's occupation. The Sultan appointed teachers for new converts and built mosques.[220]

Very little is known about the general condition and development of this particular faith in the ages concerned. As it appears from the description of Baladhuri and other annalists, these regions came into contact with Islam within the first few decades of its birth. It is likely that the simple faith of prophet was propagated here. The conflict between Ali and Muwaiyah had its impact on it. The Khajirites equally influenced it. With the rise of the Abbasid, Islam's hand on this area became stronger and during Al-Mansur's reign, a number of works on medicine,

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astronomy philosophy were translated into Arabic. Strong Indian influence was deeply felt on all these subjects. Even, influence of Buddhist philosophy and *Vedanta* are noticeable in the "religious ideas, notably in the growth and development of Islamic mysticism or Sufism. As earlier form of such influence is manifested in "Zuhd" or asceticism which is not identical with Sufism."[220a]

That is to say, the latter were forerunner of the Sufis. Thus, the work of preaching Islam to the idolators started by Sultan Mahmud, was carried on by the Sufis, saints who flourished here in the end of 11th and beginning of 12th centuries A.D.[220b]

Above account indicates that different religions like Buddhism, Brahmanism, Jainism, worship of fire and Islam flourished side by side in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period under consideration. This shows the catholocity of spirit of the people during early medieval period. Even the Muslims who invaded Kapiśa and Gandhāra and neighbouring countries again and again were allowed to live in peace and harmony with others in the earlier part of the period. Thus, the religious life of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during the period under survey was expressed in a number of faiths and beliefs differing from each other in points of philosophy and rituals. Therefore, it seems that the spirit of toleration prevalent elsewhere in India is also in practice here.

Al-beruṇi has put forward the view that a spirit of animosity existed between the Buddhists and Brahmans here.[221] But he himself admits that Buddhists are more akin to the Brahmanas than any other religionists of this area.[222]

We find from Hsüan-tsang's account that the Brahmanas served as the custodian of several sacred relics in the shrines of Nagarahāra.[223]

If there existed any enmity of feeling or hatred between the Buddhists and Brahmanas, it would not have been possible for the Brahmanas to serve in these capacities. Moreover, we find in this age several cases of conversion to Buddhism. Vīradeva, son of the court priests and chief minister of Nagarahāra was initiated into Buddhism.[224] Another Brahmana also accepted Buddhism and went to China.[225] In China he translated several Sanskrit treatises into Chinese.[226]

Al-beruṇi, also mentioned that there was little disputing about theological topics and people did not stake their life or property for this."[227] Therefore, it appears that there may exist some form of animosity between the two sects in some areas, but in general, policy of toleration was followed.

According to the evidence of Chinese texts Hūṇas followed the policy of religious persecution in the previous centuries.[228] This is evidenced by the large number of stupas and monasteries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra and in the neighbouring countries, which showed signs of burning and Vandalism.[229]

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In the period under survey, we find no such cases except the Muslims. Muslims followed this policy from the very beginning and upto the end of our time.[230]

As already mentioned above, they attacked, looted and destroyed the people and property of this area for the only reason that they were infidels and idolators.[231] They exacted tribute and imposed Zijiya on the people of this area. They forcibly converted a large number of inhabitants of the area concerned.[232]

According to Al-beruni,[233] Prince Nasir-addaula Sabuktigin, of the Samani dynasty of Ghazana, chose the holy war as his calling and styled himself Al-Ghazni, *i.e.*, warring in the road of Allah). In his opinion. Sultan Mahmud followed in his father's footsteps and "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and formed their wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became atoms of dust sacattered in all directions and like a tell of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish the most invetirate aversion towards all Muslims. And their antagonism receives more and more nourishments from both the political and the religious sources afterwards."[234] This description shows how far the policy of persecution was followed by the Muslims in this region. This ruins of cities, temples, and monasteries bear mute testimony to such an act.

Notes and References

1. *R.V.* I, p. 126, 7; *Aitariya Brah*, VII, p. 34; *Śatapatha Brah*, VII. 1, 4, 10.
2. As on No. 1; *Select Inscription*, Book II, Besenagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus pp. 88-89; R.B. Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, Vima, pp. 183ff., pl. xvii, fig. 31, 33, 36; pp. 187, pl. XVII, fig. 65; p. 189, pl. XIX, fig. 151, pp. 208, pl. XIX, fig. 209-210.
3. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, Swat Relic vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodorus, pp. 1-4; Taxila C.P. Inscription of a Maridarkh, pp. 4-6; Tirath Rock Inscription, pp. 8-9; Taxila C.P. Inscription of Patika of the year 78, pp. 23-29; Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription, p. 77; Peshawar Museum, No. 20, pp. 79ff.
4. Coins of Sasanians, Kushanas, amply demonstrated this prevalence of fire worship in the regions concerned. R.B. Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, pp. 187, pl. xvii, fig. 63, 64; p. 190, pl. XVIII, fig. 92; p. 195, fig. 117, pl. XVIII.
5. Coinage of Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthaians, Kushanas illustrated the prevalence of this Hellenistic cult here. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, pl. I, fig, 1, 4, 6; p. 13, pl. I, fig, 22; p. 16, pl. II, fig. 41; p. 18, pl. II, fig. 54; p. 98, pl. X, fig. 1-2; pl. X, fig. 4; p. 186, pl. XVII, fig. 53, p. 201, pl. XIX, fig. 162.
6. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 183, 199, 240, 250-51, 284, 286, 300, 314, 318, 322, 329, 330-31, 332-33, 366, 373, 377; Vol. II, pp. 20, 25, 47, 63, 81, 187.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 123-30, 181, 183, 199; Vol. II, p. 262.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 183, 184, 202, 214, 215; *ASIAR*, Vol. V, pp. 8-53. Description of ruins of Shahbaz-Garhi, Takht-i-Bahi, Shar-i-Bahlol, Jamal Garhi, Shah-ji-ki Dheri—reveals this fact.
9. Ghosharawa Praśasti of Vīradeva *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 45ff. Sachau, I, Ch. I, p. 21.

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10. S. Levi, 'Itinerary Da Wu-K'ung,' *J.A*, 1895, pp. 337ff. Relevant passages has been translated in K.W. Dobbins, *Stupas and Viharas of Kanishka*, Ch. IV, pp. 53-54.
11. F. Fuchs "Huei chao's pilgrreise durch Nordwest Indian and Central Asian um 726" *Sitz Press, Akad. Wiss*, 1938, XXX; Dobbins, K.W., *Stupas and Viharas of Kanishka*, Ch. IV, p. 54; R. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India, Visva Bharati Annals*, Vol. VI, 1954, 15-17.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Vinaya Pitaka*, ed. by H. Oldenberg, P.T.S., London, 1879-83. Eng. trans. (Vinaya text) by T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *S.B.E.*, Oxford, 1881-85, Vol. XX. *Cullavagga, Seventh Khandhaka, Dissensions in the Order*, pp. 233, 271; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 378-379.
14. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123-24; 208, 214, 217-18; *Life*, pp. 54-56.
15. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123-24, 208-214; Life, pp. 54-56.
16. *Life*, p. 56. "In that temple" (of the Great Vehicle) there was (a Doctor) of the three *Piṭakas*, called *Manojñaghosha* (*Mo-nu-jo-kiu-sha*), and also a *Sa-po-ta*, *A-liye-fa-ma* (*i.e. Ārya varama* of the *Sarvāstivādins* school) and also a priest of the *Mi-sha-she* (*Mahiśāsakas* named *Ku-na-po-ta.*" Also see *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 226; J.N. Banerjea, "Schools of Buddhism in Early Indian Inscriptions," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIV. 1948, No. 4. p. 251ff.
17. *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, pt. I. As on No. 3, Most of the inscriptions record gifts to the Sarāstivādins. Some of them refers to the establishment of stupas on relics of the Buddha. The donors made a gift of these stupas to the Sarvāstivādins.
18. *Life*, 54-56.
19. *Life*, pp. 54-55; *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 124-26, 203-12. 214.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 181, 240; Vol. II, pp. 262, 265.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 123.
22. *Life*, p. 56.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 202, 214.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 217.
26. *Life*, pp. 54-55.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, 56-57; *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 124.
29. *Life*, pp. 54-55.
30. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 126, 128, 129, 183-84, 202; *Life*, pp. 54-64.
31. *Ibid.*, All these divinities are represented by the sculptures recovered from Gandhāra—*ASIAR*, VII, p. 145; Charsada—*ASIAR*, II, pp. 165, 167ff.; Sahr-i-Bahlol—*ASIAR*, VI, pp. 37, 38, 105, 115, pls. 32, 33, IX, pp. 54, 55, pls. 19, 20, 21, XI, pp. 106, pl. 40; Taxila—*ASIAR*, XII, pp. 11, 13, pls. 50, 70, 80, VII, p. 145; Sahr-i-bahlol, *ASIAR*, IX, p. 55, pl. 21b.
32. See *Watters*, pp. 126, 128, 129, 183-84, 196, 202, 205, 208
33. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 129, 183, 214, 215, 218.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 126, 127-28, 203-212.
35. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 124-26, 127, 203-12.
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 183, 215, 217-18, 127-184.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 184; Life, pp. 59-60.
38. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 184.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 196.
40. *Ibid.*, Life, p. 59.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 128.

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45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 184, 196-98.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 128.
49. *MMK*, Vol. I, pp. 54-55.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Ch. 30, pp. 325-26.
51. *Ibid.*, II, p. 325.
52. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 184.
53. *Ibid.*, *Life*, pp. 60-63.
54. As on No. 31.
55. See Chapter on Social Condition, Note 130; also see *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 216; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 386.
56. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 215; *MMK*, Ch. I, pp. 8-24; Vol. II, Ch. 26, p. 297ff.
57. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 124-25; *Life*, pp. 55-56.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 216-217.
61. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 215; Skarah Dheri Image Inscription, *CII.* Vol. II, pt. I, p. 399. The Inscription has been found inscribed on the pedestal of the statue of Hāritī asking protection for the children.
62. V.S. Agarwal, "The Geographical contents of Mahāmayūrī," *JI. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, 1924, pp. 24-29.
63. Barthaux, *Les Fouiles De Hadda*, Vol. III, pl. 99, figs, a, b, c, d, f, g, (Demons grotesque), Pl. 100, figs. *i.e.*, pl. 101, figs. a-f and pl. 102.
64. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 204; *Life*, pp. 55, 57-58, 60-61.
65. *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 115; *I-tsing*, pp. 164-165.
66. *Watters*, Vol. I. p. 123.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 344.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Life*, pp. 56-57, 193.
71. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 62, 162, 208; *Life*, p. 56.
72. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 208.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-14, 217.
74. *Life*, pp. 56-57.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. We find that already in the period concerned, beliefs in magical spells and charms and efficacy of mantras find a place in Buddhism as it appears from the Mahāmayūrī and the *Āryamañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*. *MMK*, Vol. I, Ch. 1, pp. 1-24, Vol. II, p. 325; V.S. Agrawal, "The Geographical Contents of Mahāmayūrī," *JI. U.P. Hist* Soc., pp. 24-29.
81. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 259-75; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 404-26.
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, PP. 262-63.
85. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 126.

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86. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 215.
87. As on No. 80 above; also *MMK*, Vol. II, Ch. 26, pp. 293ff.
88. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 325.
89. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 259.
90. *Ibid.*, *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 325.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 259ff.; *Agni Pur*, Ch. 133, sl. 27-41; Ch. 134—1-3, Ch. 135—1-6; Ch. 137—1-18, Ch. 138,—8-14; Ch. 143—1-17; Ch. 144-147.
92. *Ibid.*, *MMK*, Vol. I, Ch. 2; II, Ch. 26, p. 293.
93. G. Tucci, "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat, "*E &W. N.S*,. Vol. 9, No. 4, Dec. 1958, pp. 279-378, figs. 26, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25.
94. *Sachau*, Ch. I. p. 21.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Sachau*, Ch. I, p. 23.
97. Coins of the Turki and Hindu Shahis reveal their beliefs in fire worship and Brahmanism instead of Buddhism, though according to Wu-K'oung and Hye Chao, a few of them patrionised the later. *Later Indo-scythians*, pl. X, 3-5, 7, 9, 10, 11; *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 62-66; pl. VII, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Instances of Brahmanas acting as guards and door-keepers of sacred relies also points to this fact, *Life*, p. 59; *Watters*, Vol. I. p. 128.
98. As on No. 94.
99. As stated above coins and inscriptions of Turki and Hindu Shahis bear testimony to this fact, see note 97.
100. V.N. Aiyar, "Trimurti Image in Peshawar Museum" in *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 276-280, pl. LXXII; Vishnu, *ASIAR*, 1935-36, pl. XI, fig, 4; Kārttikeya, *ASIAR*, Vol. VII, 1934-35, p. 31, pl. VII, fig. f; D. Barrett, "Sculptures of the Shahi Period," *O.A.* NS, Vol. 3, 1957, No. 2, pp. 54-59, fig. 9, 10, 11, 12; D. Schlumberger, "Le Marble Scorette," *O.A.* 1959, p. 54ff.; H. Goetz, "Scoretti Marbles." *Arts Asiatic*, Tome II, Fasc. 2, 1965; M. Taddei, "An Ekamukhalinga from the N.W.F.P. and some connected promblems—A Study in Iconography & Style," *E & W*, Vol. 13, 1962, p. 289ff.
101. R.B. Whitehead, *P.M.C.*, pp. 183ff., pl. XVII, figs. 31, 33, 36; pp. 208, pl. XIX, figs. 209, 210,; p. 4, pl. IV, pp. 231, 233, p. 127; pl. XII, pp. 288, pl. XVI, 84; *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 256, pl. VII, 1, 2, 4; also see 100.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 123. 214, 221; Vol. II, p. 262.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 256. 257, 259.
106. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 181, 183; Vol. II, pp. 262, 266.
107. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 214, 221, II, p. 265.
108. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 221; Vol. II, p. 265.
109. *ASIAR*, 1895, Vol. V, Shahr-i-Bahlol, p. 45, pl. XII. No. 6. See note 100.
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111. *Ibid.*
112. *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 69. As on note 100.
113. V. K. Aiyar, "Trimurti Image in the Peshawar Museum," *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 276-80, pl. LXXII; Shar-i-Bahlol, Vol. V, 1895, pl. XII No. 6; D. Barrett, "Sculptures of the Shahi Period," O. A., N. S., Vol. 3, 1957, No. 2, pp. 54-59; M. Taddeil, "An Ekamukhalinga from the N.W.F.P. and some connected Problems—A Study in iconography and style;" *E & W*,

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115. *Ibid.*
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117. As on 99. D. R. Shahni, "Six Inscriptions of the Hindu Shahi kings," *ASIAR*, 1917, pp. 20 ff.; *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 69; K. V. Ramesh, "A Fragmentary Śaradā Inscription from Hund," *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, April 1969, pp. 94-98; Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
118. *E.I.*, Vol. 33-34, p. 69; Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97-98.
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120. Well illustrated by the sculptures of the region and period concerned, Barrett, op. cit., pp. 54-59.
121. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
122. *Ibid.*
123. M. Taddle, "An Ekamukhalinga from the N.W.F.P. and some connected Problems—A Study in Iconography and Style," *E & W*, Vol. 13, 1962, pp. 288ff.
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125. As on note 113.
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127. As on note 124.
128. *Vāyu*—17th Ch., Sl. 49; 30th, pp. 285-318, 166, 318-320; *Agni*, Pur. Ch. 95, Sl. 53-60.
129. *Ibid.*
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131. D. Schlumberger, "Scoretti Marbles," *Arts Asiatique*, Tome II, Fasc. 2, 1955; *Afghanistan*, No. 1, Vol. XXVI, June 1973. Front cover "Durga-Goddess Mahishasuramardini," VII. IX, Century, white markle, discovered at Gardez; *E & W*, Vol. 19, 1969, ISMEO Activities. p. 545, fig. 7 & 8.
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137. As on note 133.
138. *Mārk Pur.*, Ch. 87, 1-22.
139. As on note 133.
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152. *I.M.C. Coins of Gupta Dynasties, Allan.*
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162. *Ibid.*
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164. As on note 158.
165. See note 151, p. 55, figs. 1a, 1b.
166. *Ibid. ASIAR*, Vol. XIII, 50, 51, 52, 53; SV. 66. four-faced, xiii, 45, pl. 28.
167. *RV*, X. 37; I-50; I—115; Vishnu, i, 154; i-155, 'Sun-worship—Aryans—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 465-466; *The Classical Age*, pp. 437-39.
168. *Ibid., Bri Saṁ.*, Ch. LIX, 19.
169. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 126, Vol. II, 254.
170. *Ibid.*, B. Rowland, *Art & Architecture of India*, pl. 57.
171. *Rescherches Archeologiques au col de khair Khaneh pres de Kabul by* F. J. Carl, ed. J. Hackin, Paris, 1936, pl. XIV, Bamian; B. Rowland, *Art & Architecture of India.* pl. 57.
172. *E I.*, Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pl. 97-98.
173. *Watters*, Vol. II, p. 254; *HIED*, Vol. I, p. 10.
174. See note 170.
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176. As on note 172.
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Brl. Saṁ.*—Śakadvipi Brahmanas—Ch. LIX, 19; Ajay Mitra, Sastri, *India as Seen in the Brihat Saṁhitā*, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, pp. 1969, 139-140.
179. The *Age of Imperial Unity*; pp. 465-466;
180. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. XI, p. 121.
181. Representation of Ath. So, God of fire in Kanishka's coins and the Surkh Kotal Inscription will illustrates this point.
182. As on note 4.
183. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 276, 177-78, pl. VII, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. 5. 8, 9; pp. 281-82, 283, pl. VIII,

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figs. 3, 4, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17; pp. 284-85, 286, pl. IX, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17; Linga—Ch. 84—1-10; 11-22, 23-25; Ch. 87—11-25, 1-72.

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185. R. B. Whitehead—"The So-called Sun God of Multan," *Indian Antique*, p. 326-29.
186. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 74; *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. 2, p. 21f.
187. *Life*, pp. 45-46.
188. *Sachau*, Vol. I, Ch. 1, p. 21; "Another circumstances which increased the already existing antagonism between Hindus and foreigners is that so-called Shamaniyya (Buddhists), though they cordially hate the Brahmanas still are nearer akin to them than to the others. In former times Khurasan, Persis, Iran, Mosul, the country upto the Frontiers of Syria was Buddhistic, but then Zarathrustra went forth from Adhrbaijan and preached magism in Balkh (Bactria). His doctrine came into favour with king Ghushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treatise. He founded fire temples through his whole empire from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (Zorostrianism) the obligatory state religion for Persia and Iran. In consequence Buddhists were banished from those countries and had to migrate to the countries east of Balkh."
189. F.D.J. Paruck, *Sasaian Coins*, p. 51; Ardashir, II, pl. I, figs. 13-22; pl. II, figs. 1-44, pl. III, 1-2; pl. IV, figs. 1-3; pl. VI, 1-5, 12; Pl. VII 10; Pl. X, fig. 1; Pl. XI, fig. 1; pl. XIV, fig. 1, pl. XVII, fig. 1, pl. XXVIII, figs. 1-5, 43.
190. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
191. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 251.
192. *Samariccā kahā*, 36, 3-45, 13; Intro., pp. XXXIV.
193. *ASIAR*, Vol. XII, 1914-15, pt. 2, pp. 36-41.
194. *Baladhuri*, pt. XX, 432, p. 209.
195. *Baladhuri*, pt. XIX, pp. 159-206.
196. *Ibid.*, pt. XIX, pp. 166, 189.
197. *Ibid.*, Pt. XIX, 159-168, 170, pt. XX, pp. 204ff. 212-29. 230-33, p. 233—King of Usaifan's son's death.
198. *Ibid.*, pt. XIX, 159-206, pt. XX, 207-33.
199. *Ibid.*
200. *Baladhuri*, Vol. I, Pt, XVIII, 393-401, pp. 141-155; Vol. II, pt. XIX, 403-430, 159-206.
201. See notes 195, 196, 197, 198 and 200.
202. See chapter on Political Background; *Baladhuri*, Vol. II, Ch. XVIII, pp. 141-155.
203. *Ibid* , Ch. XIX, pp. 159-214.
204. See notes 201 and 202.
205. *Baladhuri* II, XVIII, pp. 143, 146, 147, 148, 150-151, 152, 155.
206. *Ibid.*, II, Ch. XVIII, pp. 141, 143-44, 148, 150-51; XIX, pp. 163, 167, 168, 170, 172.
207. *Ibid.*
208. *Ibid.*
209. As on notes, 201, 202, 203.
210. Dr. M.A. Ghafoor, "Two Lost Inscriptions relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and North West Region of West Pakistan, "*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, 1965-68, pp. 4-12.
211. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
213. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
214. *Baladhuri*, II, XIX, 197, 201.
215. *Ibid.*
216. See notes 211 and 212; op. cit., pp. 200-201.

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217. Minorsky, op. cit., §. 10, 54, p. 91ff.
218. *Ibid.*
219. *Ibid.*, §. 10, 56.
220. *Stud. in Ind. Mid. Hist.*, Ch. III, p. 25; Ch.IV, p. 49.
220a. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* Ch. XIV, p. 452.
220b. This was carried on by the Sufi saints, "the first of whom was Shaikh Ismail of Lahore. He was followed by Shaikh 'Ali-bin 'Usman-al Hujwarri, better known under his sobriquet of Data Gang Baksh who died in A.D. 1072 and whose tomb at Lahore is one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Punjab."—*The Struggle for Empire*, Ch. XVI, p. 467.
221. *Sachau*, Ch. I, p. 21ff.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Life*, pp. 59, 62.
224. Ghosrawa Praśasti of Vīradeva, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 45ff.
225. *Watters*. p. 182.
226. *Ibid.*
227. *Sachau*, Ch. I, p. 21ff.
228. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 247; Raj. I, 289.
229. *ASIAR*, 1895, Vol. V.
230. *Baladhuri*, pt. XVIII, Ch. I, pp. 143-149; Ch. II, pp. 150-155; pl. XIX, Ch. I, pp. 159-168; Ch. II-VIII, pp. 169-206;
231. As on notes 200 and also see *Stud. in Mid. Ind. Hist.*, Ch. III, IV.
232. *Ibid.*
233. As on note 21.
234. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER VII

Art and Architecture (I)

I

Architecture

Art is the handmaid of religion. The art of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra was no exception to this well-known addage. However, paucity of data does not allow us to get a full picture of the art activities of the region during the period with which we are concerned. Like elsewhere the artistic activities of the period have been divided into three classes, *viz.*,

I. Architecture,

II. Painting, and

III. Sculpture,

A. Structural Temples

Meagreness of information in the field of architecture makes its study a bit difficult. Unfortunately most of the sites belonging to the period under consideration still remain unexcavated. For that reason, to form an idea about the art and architecture of the period we have to depend much on literary source. Literary evidence amply testify to the existence of building activities and town planning in these areas during our period.[1] Literary source revealed that at least nine towns were in existence in the countries of Kapiśa, Lan-p'o, Na-Kie-lo-ha and Kan-t'a-lo, and Fa-la-na in the first half of the 7th century A.D.[2] The Chinese pilgrim specifically referred to the city of Hi-lo, which had a strong elevated situation with charming gardens and ponds.[3] He also noted the peculiar situation of the town of Si-p'i-to-fa-lu-tzu (Śvetavara).[4] "This city and all around it remained quite undisturbed when rest of the region was visited by earthquakes and landslips."[5] The earthquakes and landslips, especially the landslips are a peculiar geographical feature of Kapiśa (Kafiristan).[6] The existence of durable buildings in a region having such

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a physical characteristic gives credit to the town-planners and architects of the region.

All these towns were adorned with stupas and monasteries.[7] There were above hundred monasteries in Kapiśa alone which were lofty and spacious and kept in good order.[8] More than ten Buddhist sanctuaries were found in Lan-p'o.[9] Nagarahāra possessed many Buddhist establishments but the Brethren were very few.[10] The city of Hi-lo was famous for its decorated two-storied building in which the ushṇīsha bone of the Buddha was carefully preserved.[11] At least thousand Buddhist monasteries existed in Gandhāra country in decaying conditions.[12] He specifically mentioned dilapidated state of the Pātra-chaitya,[13] Kanishka-stupa and Mahāvihāra[14] and gave detailed descriptions of them. During the time of his visit, the re-building of Kanishka-stupa was in progress after it had been burnt for the fourth time.[15] According to him, Kanishka Mahāvihāra consisted of three or four, two and three storied buildings and one single storied building.[16] Although the buildings were in ruins, their artistic excellence was discernable.[17]

Though another Chinese envoy Wu-k'ong[18] noticed erection of a number of Buddhist stupas and monasteries in Kapiśa, the architects in this region gradually shifted their attention to another form of architecture in the later part of the period concerned. In the days of Hsüan-tsang, a number of temples already adorned the different cities of this areas.[19] Among the importand temples of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, most conspicuous are the one at Pi-lo-sho-lo, *i.e.* Pi-lu-sara (in the form of an elephant) in Kapiśa,[20] another Śiva temple at the Western gate of Pushkalāvatī,[21] one Śiva shrine at the feet of the Bhīmādevī parvat[22] and the Bhīma temple[23] itself at Gandhāra. Muslim chroniclers referred to a few important temples of this area including those of Sakawand,[24] Bhīma-nagara,[25] and three temples in Ninhar, *i.e.* Nagarhāra, and in Laghman many others.[26] Inscriptions recorded the construction of at least five Śiva temples in Hund[27] and surrounding areas. A Mukha-linga, discovered from the Mound E in Shar-i-Bahlol[28] reveals a curious fact. The sanctuary which enshrined the Śiva-liṅga was originally a Buddhist establishment. This was converted to a Śiva-temple afterwards.[29] A similar instance is also noticed in the temple of Dūrgā at Tapa Sardar, Ghazni.[30] Though a little outside of our region, Bhīmadeva's temple of Vishṇu shows identical development which is converted to a Muslim Ziarat.[31]

The above-mentioned description of temples gathered from different sources suggests the existence of a great number of temples in the Turkish and Hindu Shahi kingdom which included much of the territory and flourished in the period under discussion. It is not certain whether the architects of the Shahi kingdom followed a temple building style, peculiar to them. We may however, record here that Kabul has a type of architecture of its own.[32] Kabul, as it is well-known was

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once under the Hindu Shahis. An undated 'Praśaśti' from the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, found at Pehoa, records the erection of a tripple shrine of Vishnu by Achyūta, son of Rāma, an inhabitant of Kāmboja,[33] *i.e.*, region near Kabul, which recalls to our mind the tripple shrine at Khair Khaneh. It is not unlikely that this particular instance illustrates the popularity of architecture of Kabul in Rajputana.

The above pieces of information culled from the literary sources, inscriptions and report of explorations, indicate building activities in Gandhāra and Kapiśa of our age. Unfortunately, fanatical destruction of all vestiges of idolators in these regions obliterated most of the remains of such buildings. Whatever, nominal material we have, is the outcome of explorations. No systematic excavations of the sites belonging to Shahi period has been carried on except in Hund[34] and Kafirkot.[35] In Hund excavation was carried on most curserily.[36] The ruins show that the ancient site is greater in extent than that of the modern one which dates back to the time of the Muslims.[37] "The ruins of Kafirkot gives us a good picture of fortification and general building types, but they reveal little of architectural ornamentation."[38]

Some information on the religious architecture of Kapiśa and Gandhāra during our period may be gathered from the remains of Kanishka stupa, and Mahāvihāra,[39] Hadda,[40] those of Sahr-i-Bahlol,[41] Khair Khaneh,[42] shrine of Bhīmā on Karmar hill,[43] and Bhīma Keśava temple,[44] Ruins of Śiva's shrine at Hund,[45] and the discovery of a number of large sculptured stones which are component parts of a temple structure in the graveyard of Chigha Sarai,[46] in Afghanistan, throw light on the temple structure of the period. Though a little outside of our area, the monastery of Fondukistan[47] and grottos of Bamian[48] give a lot of information about the contemporary monastic architecture.

On the basis of this information, the architecture of the region and the period may be divided into two groups, *viz.*, (i) those of structural moments including stupas and monasteries and temples; and (ii) those of cave temples and rock-out sanctuaries. The above mentioned group can be subdivided further into two groups, monasteries and temples both Buddhist and non-Buddhist in their religious affiliations.

Of the structural monuments belonging to the first group, we have only three or four extant examples at our disposal like those of Kanishka-stupa and Mahāvihāra,[49] monasteries of Hadda,[50] and Fondukestan,[51] those of Taxila group, illustrating the earlier style of stupa architecture prevalent in the 4th to 6th century A.D.[52] Although, the monasteries of Taxila, such as Bhamala, Mohra Moradu and Lalchak has been assigned to a period between 4th to 6th centuries A.D., Hsüantsang's reference to at least three stupas monasteries[53] at Taxila suggest that they

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were still in existence in his time. The most important among them was Kanishka-stupa.

"The principal contribution of Gandharan architecture is noticed in the development of buildings dedicated to the Buddhist religion."[54] This group generally consists of a stupa with a round or square base, circular drum and dome and chhatra and square-shaped monastery.[55] Kanishka-stupa was one such monument. It was built in the first century A.D. and was continued to exist for a very long time—at least upto the first half of the 9th century A.D.[56] This famous stupa has been identified by scholars with Shah-ji-ki-dheri in North Western Frontier Province in modern Pakistan.[57] Discovery of a relic casket in the site of Shah-ji-ki-dheri bearing an inscription[58] proves this identification beyond doubt. The inscription records a gift of perfume box of king 'Kani' to Sarvāstivādin teachers of Kanishka Mahāvihāra.[59] According to scholars, this Kani is no other than King Kanishka himself.[60] The term Kanishka Mahāvihāra generally indicates the whole establishment which consists of both stupa and the monastery.

"The site is characterised by two mounds aligned east and west with the larger on the western side.[61] Excavation of the smaller mound reveals the base of a stupa with a cruciform ground plan.[62] The square base is 180 feet in length and the projections being 50 feet each. No traces of steps were found."[63]

"The outer rim of the base is topped by a stucco platform six feet wide and extending nine feet nine inches from north to south. Its outer edge had been a modilion cornice. Its inner edge is marked by the bases of the four small oblong stucco structure, $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$ fragmentary remains of which show conical forms resembling the finial of small stupas. It is, therefore, probable that like Borobudar and Bodhgaya here miniature dagobas were used to adorn the main monument."[64]

"Of the stupa dome or drum the inner core remains only. This consists of part of cross walls radiating from the centre of the stupa like spokes on a hub. Off centre to the east of the hub, was found the relic chamber, two feet below the level of the brick pavement surrounding the stupa, resting on a new stratum of earth. The structure of the chamber appeared primitive in style and material. Three slabs of stone formed two walls and a floor. The other two walls seem to have been formed by the rough masonry or radiating walls. On a stucco pad in the corner of the chamber was found the relic casket, made of alloy of copper, tin, lead, zinc *etc.* A crystal reliquary was found within this small box which bears the above mentioned inscription."[65]

"The excavated structure is surrounded by lesser foundation remains. Most of them are ex-voto stupas with square or circular bases, but one platform has been identified as the remains of a chapel. The circular bastion like tower bases at each corner, of the main monument are however, a unique feature of the monument

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under discussion. One of the stupa bases, near the north-west corner of the main quadrangle, appears to have been partially demolished to make room for one of these circular base of bastion like structures. Similarly, the remains of a path which probably surrounded the structure appears to have been encroached upon by four bastion like corners. This is one indication of renovation or addition."[66]

"To the west of the stupa is the large mound of the monastery. Excavation at this site revealed three levels of construction, The lowest level is marked by two rows of pillars which join at right angles. The bases of these pillars rest on a level five feet above the level of the main stupa. The massive brick columns measure on the average 4½ feet square. They may mark the south-eastern corner of the quadrangular complex of cells. If that is the case, the columns should have marked a varanda with cells arranged on the outside perimeter and opening towards the inside of the quadrangle. Since no foundations for cells were found and because a stratum of charcoal was found in this level, the cells are probably built entirely of wood."[67]

"The second level is identified by a long brick walls which runs north 47 feet jog to the west for 76½ feet where it ends in no definite corner. The highest level has two semicircular walls with a connecting wall, which runs over the wall of the level immediately below. It rises 4'—9" at its highest point and has headers of large flat tiles. It appears to have been a foundation or retaining wall of a platform. Projection towards the main stupa probably marks the entrance of the monastery. No cell foundation were found in the upper level or middle levels. Other platforms and ex-voto stupa bases were recovered but no general scheme can be drawn."[68]

So, no clear idea about monastic architecture can be had from the ruins of Kanishka stupa and Mahavihara except the stupa's general plan. Perusal of literary source give us some idea about the construction of Kanishka-stupa and Mahāvihāra. Kanishka-stupa and Mahāvihāra are described in Chinese,[69] Sogdian,[70] Khotanese-Saka[71] and Arabic[72] texts. Surprisingly enough Ghosrawa[73] inscription is the only source which mentioned Kanishka-stupa and Mahāvihāra.

"The earliest record of the stupa was furnished by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien.[74] Fa-hsien, while describing the country of Fo-lou-sha, located the stupa built by king Chia-ni-cha outside the town. The stupa was 40 chang (*i.e.*, 400 feet) in height and was adorned with all precious substance. Of all the stupas and temples, ever seen (by Fa-hsien) there was none that could be compared with this one for beauty and majesty. It is the highest stupa in all Jambudvipa."[75]

"Next reference to the stupa was made by Sung-yun and Hui-sheng (*i.e.*, c. A.D. 518-522).[76] According to them, this stupa was erected by Chia-ni-se-chia, and was situated 7 li to the south-east of the city of Chi'-ien-t'o. It was 700 feet

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in height. The whole stupa was divided into 13 storeys which was surmounted by an iron pillar, three feet in height with 13 gilded circlets."[77]

"Tao-jung's[78] description of the stupa differs from that of Sung-yun. According to his testimony the width of the foundation was 390 paces; the total height of the structure was 63—2/10 changs (or 743 feet) and the iron pillar was 88 —8/10 feet in height with 15 encircling discs. The roof was 30 feet high (according to Beal's translation 35 feet). Sungyun said that a lofty stage was erected at each of the four corners."[79]

"The most detailed description was rendered by Hsüan-tsang who reached the site in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D.[80] Hsüan-tsang locates a pippala tree at eight or nine li to the south-east of the city of Po-lo-sha-pu-lo" (Purushapura, *i.e.* Peshawar).[80a] "To the south of the pippala tree there was a stupa built by king Chia-ni-se-chia.[81] It was 400 feet in height; its base 1½ li in circumferences." The base consisted of five layers with a total height of 150 feet. On the top was a shaft with 25 discs of gilded copper. In the middle was placed one peck of body relics of Tathagata. There was two stupas—one three feet and the other five feet, engraved on the southern side of the stone steps on the eastern face of the great stupas. Their shape and proportion were the same as the great stupa. There were two full sized figures of the Buddha, one four and another six feet in height in cross-legged, seated posture. On the southern side of the stone steps of the great stupa was a printed figure of the Buddha about 16 feet high. From the middle upwards the figure had two bodies and only one below the middle."[82]

"About 100 paces to the south-east of the Great Tope stood a figure of a standing Buddha in white stone about 18 feet high, looking to the north. A hundred little stupas stood close together, were on the left and right of the great stupa."[83]

"To the west of the stupa stood an old Saṅghārāma built by Chia-ni-se-chia, with double towers, connected terraces and deep chambers. It gave evidence of its wonderful construction, despite its decay. The chamber of Po-li-shih fu (Pārsvaka) was to be found in the third double storeyed tower, although it had long been in ruins. To the east of this chamber was the house of Vasuvandhu Bodhisattva. About 50 paces to the south of this house was the second storeyed pavellion of Monorohita, master of śāstras."[84]

The account of Si-kia-Fang-chi' states that the stupa is the same as that of Hsi-yü-chi, given above, except its detail is less remarkable. It describes the stupa as having twenty-five storeys of gilt copper discs.[85]

"Hui-li's 'Life of Hsüan-tsang,' describes the structure as being 400 feet high with a base of 1½ li in circuit, and 150 feet high. Here also the surmounting shaft has 25 discs of gilded copper."[86]

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"The next reference to the great monastic complex was made by Wu-k'ong[87] in the last half of the eighth century. The Chinese ambassador identified several monasteries in the area. The monastery and the sacred stupa of Chi-ne-cha (Kanitha or Kanishka) and the monastery of Yen-t'i-shia of the king Chi-ni-cha (Kanishka) are of interest to us."[88]

"This establishment is also featured in Al-beruṇi's description of India. Only information supplied by him is that Kanik built the Vihāra of Parshavar and that in the 11th century, the site was called Kanik chaitya."[89]

From the above reference we can at least conclude that the name of the king who built the great stupa was chi-ni-cha and Chia-ni-se-chia. "These designation are Chinese rendering of the name Kanishka. The cities of Fo-lo-sha and Fo-lu-sha-pu-lo, both correspond to Purushapura, capital of Gandhāra. Ch'ien-to-lo was equivalent to Gandhāra. The identification of Al-beruṇi's Kanik with Kanishka and Parashavar with Purushapura are self-evident."[90]

"Only very few inferences may be drawn from the pilgrim's accounts about the appearance of the monuments. The pilgrims describe some features of the structure, making no attempt to separate old construction from repairs or additions which may not have been apparent to them in any way. However, they give some information on the general plan of the structure as seen at different times. The height is recorded, in chronological sequence, as being 400, 700 and 743 and again 400 feet. The latest description, Hsüan-tsang's gives 400 feet for the stupa and 150 feet for the base. That these figure may be added to give a total height of 550 feet is indicated by the description in the She-kia-fang-chi. This is less than the height of 700 or 743 feet given in the accounts of a century before. This may be explained by the fact that Hsüan-tsang saw the stupa after it had been destroyed. The increasing number of discs on the iron pillar, given as 13, 15 and 25, suggests enlargement of the structure if the stupa and base were enlarged in proportion to the changes in the size of the Chattrāvalī. All of the accounts imply an elongated structure divided into several storeys with a multiple-terraced base such as the five layers mentioned by Hsüan-tsang. In additions to these dimensions, we have mention of several others features, namely as on the extensive use of wood—including perhaps a wooden canopy or superstructure,—stairs, sculpture, friezes, frescoes, and a structural motif of some sort involving the four corners."[91]

According to scholars, the stupas of Hadda existed from the Kushana time upto 6th century A.D.[92] But Hsüan-tsang's reference indicates that they were still in existence in his time. The stupas and monasteries of Hadda belonging to the period under survey, followed the architectural type of the previous centuries. The stupa base is square or circular with a circular dome and drum.[93] The drum is elongated by using a number of layers one after another.[94] The body of the

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stupa, especially the plinth and the drum is richly carved with sculptures set in niches between pilasters all around.[94a] The monastery is square shaped. Cells were arranged round a square court yard.[95]

Taxila group of stupas and monasteries shows similar development.[96] The Buddhist monastery of Fundakistan shows further development of this type.[97]

"This Buddhist monastery of Fundakistan comprises of a sanctuary and its appendages, cells, meeting-halls, and out houses."[98] The sanctuary "was a hall on an evidently square plan apparently vaulted with cylindrical vault and built with unbaked brick of large dimensions. The deep niches likewise vaulted with cylindrical vault, opened into a great hall, of which centre was occupied by a stupa of square base. Externally each of these niches was formed in a simple arcade; these elements were connected with others by a horizontal string course resting on pilasters with pseudo-corinthian capitals which were distributed on both sides of the entrance of each niche. The modelled scroll patterns forming this cincture of arcades resemble very closely modelled decorations of the Cave I, II and XI of Bamian. The carefully executed paintings covered the vault and the walls of the niche, the figures being still visible in places. The painting forms only a minor part of the decorative programme; the most marked element is represented by the clay modellings; large statues placed at the bottom of the niche, busts fixed against the walls by means of wooden dowels; a clever polycromy rendered these elements of a piece with the painted decoration."[98a] On the whole, the Buddhist sanctuaries of the period retained the plan and type of the earlier period. The typical example of the ground plan and of the structure are provided by those of Hadda and Taxila.

The religious establishment of Fondukistan shows further development of this style. The stupa with a square base still remains to be the principal object for veneration. But the arrangement of deep niches with cylindrical vault arranged in a square court yard surrounding the stupa, likewise vaulted with cylindrical vault, more or less gives the appearance of a temple. This mode of arrangement of niches were also noticed in housing deities in Takt-i-Bahi and some of the stupas of Hadda. This arrangement shows that here at least schematic coordination of stupa and sanctuary has been achieved and the plan is smaller in scale than that found in the regions concerned in previous centuries. The scroll pattern, pseudo-corinthian pilasters are some of the minor architectural elements which adorned the monastery of Fondukistan and painted decorations exhibits fusion of Gandharan with Iranian stylistic elements, which is more pronounced in the sculpture of the region and period concerned.

B. *Rock-cut monasteries and cave temples*

Along with the structural Buddhist monasteries we may consider another type

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of Buddhist shrine which belong to the second category of architectural types mentioned above. We are referring to rock-cut monasteries and cave temples in the countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

Hsüan-tsang described a large number of caves associated with Buddhist establishment in these countries.[99] Charles Masson, who visited these areas in the 19th century gave a detailed description of them.[100] According to him, ruins abound in Afghanistan, the Buddhist stupas, most of them are scattered over a large tract of territory from Kohistan (Kabul) to Jelalabad, and in the Hazarazat.[101] He calls these topes sepulchures,[102] which in reality is nothing, but Buddhist religious establishment which consisted of stupas, saṅghārāmas and inferior structures. According to him, these topes were always associated with tumulies, and tumulies were accompanied by caves wherever, there was any mountain.[103] In his opinion, the mountains of the territories lying between Kabul and Jelalabad were honey-combed with caves.[104] The stupas of Darunta, and Chahar-bagh, Hadda had such caves in the vicinity.[105]

Mr. Masson found a number of caves in Darunta, both large and small in extent. In his opinion, "the solitary and obscure tummulas have its humble and single cave, but the magnificent topes has a series of caves, some of them of large dimension and of many apartments. Amongst them are frequently one or more temples and in line with the caves we often see mere niches, which we may suppose once contained statues or idols. The complete range of excavations, it is manifest, included besides apartments for priests and their attendants, temples and niches for the statue of the person commemorated or the idol or the deity. These collections are miniature representations of the vast assemblages at Bamian."[106] It is interesting to note here that there were no topes in Bamian.[107] It may be equally applicable to the caves of the regions concerned. "The caves are always lined with cement but are otherwise, devoid of ornament. Some of them have a recess at their upper extremities,—a feature also to be remembered in many caves at Bamian. The domed caves or temples only have in some cases, been surrounded with belts of mouldings or distinguished by ornaments at their apices. The most interesting of the Darunta collections of caves is that attached to Tope Gudara, and excavated in the scarped front of the eminence confining the river on which that structure stands. It exhibits all the peculiarities observable in such evidences and may be worthy of representation. Sketch No. 1 shows the idol niche, and view from the opposite side of the river (the Kabul) of a suit of apartments, connected their whole length by two internal galleries, they are called by the natives the bazars. Sketch No. 2 shows the entrance to a large cave with a dome, therefore, the temple of the ancient establishment, called on account of its size by the natives fil khana, or elephant's stable."[108]

All the topes of Chahar Bagh "have their caves, and the scarped sides of the

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several ravines afforded convenient sites for their excavation. Some of these are spacious, but devoid of ornament and entrances of many of them are formed after the manner of Egyptian caves."[109] In Masson's opinion, the Chahar Bagh caves were datable to the period of Mo Kadphises and his successor Kanerkos," *i.e.* Vima Kadphises and Kanishka.[110]

"The topes and tummulis of Hidda have an abundance of accompanying caves. They are none of them very remarkable; the more curious are found in the escarpment of an eminence called Tappa Zurgaran or the goldsmith's mound. Of a portion of these, a sketch is given, with the caves numbered, to assist explanation. No. 1 of these caves is a square apartment, surmounted with a cupola : It was covered with cement and starred with patches of yellow paint. No. 2 is a niche, clearly for the reception of a statue or idol. Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are ordinary caves, twenty four feet in length, ten feet in breadth and six feet in height, with circular ceilings. To the left of these caves, in the same mound, are seven or eight other caves, amongst which are three crowned with cupolas, and they have been highly painted. The last of these caves has many branches and strange tales are told of its interminable extent."[111]

According to Mr. Masson, of these topes, the earliest is the Darunta group, and the Chahar Bagh-Kabul group is later than Darunta but earlier than some of the stupas of Hadda.[112] Some of the stupas are contemporary with Darunta group, but some of them are quite late in date.[113]

Later visitors of Laghman-Jelalabad area also described them.[114] One of them located in "the Besuit bank of the Kabul river was a regular rock-cut monastery having a central chamber about 15 feet square with several cells opening from it and two windows on one side."[115] "Another or rather a series of caves," which Mr. Simpson explored, consisted of a long corridor or passage from which a large number of caves, varying in size from a small cell to a big chamber are entered.[116] All these caves were decorated with stuccostatues and paintings."[117]

Destruction of these monastic establishments and temples by vandalism of foreign invaders and no further exploration of these rock-cut monasteries and temples described above leaves very little information for us, except that these rock-cut sanctuaries reveal identical development like those of Indian rock-cut architecture in the period concerned. "The Indian rock-cut architecture of the Buddhists in the earlier as well as contemporary period consists of two conventional types—the chaitya hall *i.e.*, the shrine proper and the saṅghārāma or vihāra *i.e.*, the monastery. The most notable group of the contemporary period are found at Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad, all within the Hyderabad State and Bagh in the Madhya Bharat. Of these Ajanta has had a long history dating back to a period before the christian era. Of the twenty-eight caves at Ajanta five belong to the earlier period while the remaining twenty-

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three appears to have been excavated "between 4th to 7th centuries A.D. Two of the latter groups, namely caves XIX and XXVI, are chaitya caves and the rest are vihāras."[118] These two caves are typical examples of the rock-cut sanctuaries of the contemporary period and therefore, may be discussed to form a clear idea about the rock-cut establishments of the regions concerned.

Cave No. XIX assigned to the close of 5th and beginning of 6th century A.D. appears to have been earlier of the two chaitya halls,[119] "Though it retains the plan of the earlier prototype (Cave Nos. IX and X), but extensive changes in the ornamentation of the facade and in the designs of the pillars in the interior" are introduced.[120]

"Cave No. XIX is one of the smallest in size and consists of a rectangular hall, apsidal at the back end, divided into a central nave and two sides by richly carved pillars going along the entire length of the hall and round votive chaitya situated near the apsidal end. These pillars with brackets at the top support a broad and elaborate trioforium, which continues right round the nave. Over this rises the vaulted roof, the wooden ribs of the earlier caves being repeated in stone. The votive stupa, a tall monolith, has an elavated platform, square in plan but with a projection in the middle of each side, as its base. Over it, and separated from it by mouldings, rises the drum of the stupa with the standing figure of the Buddha in high relief within an arched niche in front. An elaborate moulding at the top of the cylindrical drum separates it from the hemispherical dome, the niche with the figure of the Buddha extending upto the middle of the latter. The square harmikā, with a projection in the middle of each face, ends in an inverted pyramid formed of a series of steps, and over it is placed the round shaft of the chhatrāvalī, consisting of three concentratic discs placed over one above the other in receding stages, with a pot as its crowning finial."[121] This caves "appears to have been originally provided with an entrance court in front with subsidiary chapels at the sides. The hall has only one doorway with a shallow entrance portico, its flat roof being supported on pillars of elegant design."[122] "Chaitya cave No. XXVI at Ajanta belonging to a slightly later date follows XIX in general plan, arrangement and architectural treatment. But the ornamentation is richer and more minute in detail, though rather coarser and lacking the proportion and rythmic balance of the earlier cave."[123]

"The saṅghārāma or the Vihāra was naturally planned in the form of cells round a central court, which in excavated examples took the shape of a central hall approached from one side, with cells leading out of it on the other three. Among the numerous vihāra caves at Ajanta, Cave No. XI appears to have been the oldest of the series and indicates a stage much in advance of caves Nos. XII and XIII belonging to the earlier group. The central hall in the earlier group of caves had been astyler. In cave No. XI, though the all is smaller in area than that

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of cave No. XII, four pillars have been introduced in the centre of the hall evidently as supports for the roof. There are a few cells of irregular shape around the hall which is preceded by a verandah with a row of pillars in front forming the faced. The central one of the three cells at the far end of the hall seems to have been cut through to make room for a sanctuary consisting of the seated figure of the Buddha. This sanctuary is in all probability later than the date of the original excavation of the cave."[124] ...From a comparison of the cave with Śrī Yajña Cave at Nasik it appears that a date about A.D. 400 would not be far off the mark.[125]

Though Bamian falls outside our region, we can discuss it as it shows further development and modification of the rock-cut sanctuaries of nearby area during the period under consideration. The monks of Bamian carved 'a network of monasteries out of the cliffs all around and beyond the valley.'[126] An examination of different monasteries at Bamian of our age shows the development of 'characteristics of Irano-Buddhist style of architecture and painted relief decoration, to which the sanctuary excavated in the nearby valley of Kakrak is also related'.[127]

"Most of the monasteries comprised of a vast assembly hall, a sanctuary and few cells for the monks. The sanctuary and assembly halls are simple in plan, either rectangular, circular or octagonal; some have quite an elaborate type of ceilings (cells of group F, caves V and XV) composed of beams super-imposed diagonally across the corners of a square to form successive tiers of squares progressively diminishing in size. This type which also was used in the regions of Pamirs would seem to be of western origin and to have come from Armenia, Anatolia, and Georgia. Most of the sanctuaries, however, have ceilings of Iranian type, which appears to be oldest, a representation of arched squinches affects the transition from the square sanctuary to the dome in the majority of the caves, for which either a circular or a octagonal plan seems generally to have been adopted, the transition from the vertical surface of the walls to the dome is effected by one or two courses of corbelling."[128] The caves of Bamian also reveal that painted decoration along with stucco-statues, from the characteristic feature of Irano-Buddhist style of this area.[129] Kāśmīra Smats cave in Yusufzai is the only rock-cut sanctuary of these areas from which two wooden panels depicting Saiva scenes were discovered.[130]

As it appears from the above-mentioned descriptions of Mr. Masson of the caves with niches for statues possibly represents the chaitya halls of Indian type. At first, they were simple in plan and devoid of ornament. This stage may be represented by the caves of Chahar Bagh and earlier caves of Darunta group. Later on, as some of the Darunta group reveal, architectural ornamentation are introduced. The last stage of development, as indicated by Masson, is found in square-shaped hall, surmounted by Cupola (Sketch No. 1) which reveals remains

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extensive painting. The above-mentioned sketch number 2 is a niche for reception of a statue or idol. The large square-shaped hall is nothing but the representation of rock-cut monastery with cells arranged on the three sides of central court. The rock-cut monastery on the Besuit bank of Kabul river is one such monument.

But caitya hall and vihāras of Hadda slightly differs from those of Ajanta and Ellora. The Chaitya hall with cupola and remains of extensive painting and the internal gallary and the niches found in the veranda, points to this fact. The so called domed caves with temples with capula indicates use of Iranian type of ceiling found at Bamian. Masson also noticed this resemblance.

In the absence of exploration of the ruins of these caves, on the basis of available data, we can infer that the rock-cut sanctuaries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra may be developed out of the fusion of the Indian and Iranian school. In the first stage, it is devoid of ornamentation; later on architectural detail and stucco statues, and paintings of Buddha and other deities forms a combined decorative programme for the rock-cut monasteries of this area.

C. *Structural temples*

Another interesting feature of the architecture of the zone and period was formed by the structural temples belonging to the first class of the architectural types, mentioned above.

As already stated above, Hsüan-tsang referred to the temples near the western gate of Pushkalāvatī and another at the foot-hills of Bhīmādevī's shrine and to the Bhīmādevī temple itself.[131] Foucher identified the former with a mound called Dharmasal dheri (near Charsada).[132] He suggested that the shrine at the foot of the Bhīmādevī parvat may be called Shewa, *i.e.*, Śiva.[133] On the basis of Hsüan-tsang's information, M. Foucher located the temple of Bhīmā Devī on the Karmar hill, which attains a height of not less than 1030 metres.[134] According to Hsüan-tsang's description, the image is self-wrought.[135] Foucher recognizes it as one of the sayambhu images (self-existing, *i.e.*, of natural formation) like Amarnāth which are very numerous in Kāśmīra.[136]

In his opinion, the remains of an wall which runs all round the hill and a Ziarat to the east, now represents this temple.[137] The Ziarat is surrounded by dry stone walls and decorated like a Tibetan shrine, with a profusion of little flags.[138] Foucher did not give any further information of this religious establishment.

Therefore, to form an idea about the temple architecture we have to depend entirely on the tripple shrine of Khair Khaneh,[139] and on the component stone-parts of a shrine found at the grave yards of Chigha Sarai,[140] and on those of Kafirkot and Bilot.[141]

The sun temple at Khair Khaneh has been assigned to a fifth century date by

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some scholars.[142] Others on the basis of the find of so-called Napki Malka's coins from this shrine suggests that it belongs to the 7th century.[143]

"The French Archaeological Delegation discovered the ruined temple and its accessories on the eastern slope at the neck of Khair Khaneh, 12 kilometres to the north-west of Kabul.[144] The shrine stood on a platform which was surrounded by a retaining wall. This platform was reached by a stair case, constructed on the southern faces of the retaining wall, the principal gate and a secondary entrance facing north. One passes through the inner court and thence by an inclined way one reaches the terrace of the temple. Another access was made by a small stair-case connecting the platform with the terraces. The terrace supporting the main group of temples A, B, C, is in reality the flat top of a more ancient edifice with three rooms provided with a single entrance."[145]

"The temple was constructed of crude bricks of large size disposed of layers of perfect regularity each layer being marked by a very slight projection with reference to the lower layer; that precaution was apparently due to the desire of avoiding the percolation of water along the walls."[146] In the centre of the construction we find a room with two other rooms having a rectangular plan and of very small dimension, communicating with the central room with flat roof. The thickness of the partition wall should be noticed.[146a]

"The massive construction of the main group consists of three independent cellules under one roof. The three cellules each provided with a separate entrance are displayed in facade, the thick walls retaining as in the rest of the edifice a sub-structure of blocks of schist and each of the celleules represents a square block on the side. The same square plan characterises the interior of the cellules A and B but the cellule C is of lesser depth while the length is the same. In each of the cellules, deep into the walls, we find a stone seat constructed by means of super-imposed slabs of schist; that disposition is changed here and there by insertion of blocks of carb-stones with dressed exterior acting as headers. That stone seat is encased in slight projecting slabs of schist carefully dressed and three quadrangular caveties are found in the stone seat, one ine the centre and two on either side of the central cavity. In those holes are fixed in socket three statues of gods. For three cellules therefore, there were nine statues. From the stone seat of Cellule A was discovered, a socket of white marble to which were found still adhering two legs of a statue. A small statue representing a donor was found in the debries at the right angle of the same cellule 'A'. That statue had been detached from the socket referred to before. The representation of solar deity and his accolytes was recovered from the corridor separating the cellules 'B' from the cellule 'C'. No other statue has been recovered, only the fragments and ornaments have been found."[147]

"The main group of temples at Khair Khaneh is further surrounded by other

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buildings like lodgings of the ministers, kitchens, outhouses, *etc.*, on its eastern, southern western sides. Some of them were later additions. There are a spacious room on the western side and a circular open air alter[148] on the eastern side. This two seems to be of some importance."[149]

"The general type of the main group with three independent cellules enclosed by a structure with flat roofing serving equally the purpose of pradakshina invokes suggestive parallels in the Gupta school of architecture."[150]

"The Śiva temple at Bhumara is a characteristic example of Brahmanical architecture of the Gupta style. The Bhumara temple is exactly similar to the Pārvatī temple at Nach-ne-Kuthara in central India. They reveal a type which consists of a flat-roofed square sanctum cella inside a similar roofed cloister. In plan therefore, the sanctum is a smaller square within a larger square that forms the covered gallery for pradakshina around the inner sanctum. The plan of this group bears clear affinity to the temple of Khair Khaneh which also shows a number of squares with the circumbulatory path enclosed within a larger square."[151]

"The temples of Bhumara and Nach-ne-kuthara are further adorned by a slightly smaller rectangular porch open and of pillared variety with the projection of a flight of steps in front. The only difference between Nach-ne-kuthara and Bhuhmara is in this that the first temple is furnished with a higher storey and that the second possesses two small miniature shrines on either side of the stair case which leads to the platform. At Deoguna in the Jaso State (Central India), not far from Bhumara was discovered a tripple-shrined Gupta temple which may be compared to the temple of Khair Khaneh."[152]

It is interesting to note, in this connection, an un-dated inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla, Gurjara Pratihāra king records the erection of one tripple shrine by an architect, resident of Kāmboja (Kapiśa), in Pehoa.[153] Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that the temple structure represented by those of Khair Khaneh, was prevalent in Kapiśa and Gandhāra in the period concerned.

Kafirkot and Bilot shrines, and stones found in the grave yards of Chigha Sarai illustrates another temple building style. In the fortress of Kafirkot south (Bilot) were located five Brahmanical temples with a square cell high vaulted porches surmounted by richly decorated śikhara, that although built of stone has the appearance of a brick structure.[154] (See fig. d & c in pl II) The Kafirkot group follows this group closely.[155]

Discovery of ancient fragments which have been incorporated in tombs in the cemetry of Chigha Sarai in the Kunar valley indicstes the existence of a temple there according to J.E. Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw.[156] (fig. d.e. f.8) : Edleberg, who first recovered these fragments held that these belonged to a Buddhist stupa of 1st to 5th century A.D.[157]

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"On closer examination of the fragments published by Edleberg, Mr. Leeuw, soon discovered, that they never belonged to a Buddhist stupa of the 1st to 5th centuries but to one of more mediaeval temples. The stone which provides the clue to the problem is the fragment reproduced in figure 12 (see Fig. h.i.) which Mr. Edleberg believes to be the seat of a Buddha image as he thinks it resembles a seat reproduced by Barthoux from Tapa-i- Kafariha. As a matter of fact, however, this stone is an āmalaka, an ornament used in the decoration of many medieval temples of north-India. Its thickness and the small number of ribs indicates a date in the 7th-9th centuries."[158]

"The next stone to draw our attention is the one produced in Figures j and k. This architectural detail has lost its right-hand upper and lower corners. At both ends it shows a number of architectural mouldings, typical of medieval Indian temples. In the centre is an ornament consisting of two lotus rosettes with small foliate scrolls on both sides above the design of a "split" kudu or gavaksa. This last detail is again an extremely popular motive in medieval architecture. In the earlier phases of the medieval period of kudu, usually surmounts on "split" kudu, as for instance in the Viśvakarmā Cave at Ellora but in the later phases Kudus and "split kudus are piled on top of each other forming an intricate pattern of lace-work covering part or almost all of the roof. Near the top of both sides of this "split" kudu (in Fig L.M,) we see a tiny scroll and near the bottom a tendril branches out from either side in exactly the same curly shape as higher up on both sides of the two lotus rosettes. The lower ends of each half of this "split" kudu are turned inwards in a shape resembling the medieval leaf motif; higher up this movement is repeated by a tiny tendril. This peculiarity of the turned-in ends of the "split" kudu is also found elsewhere for example in fragments from Patan Anhilvada dating from the middle of 8th century. In the centre of the "split" kudu of Figs. j, k, a squat pilaster is represented which is also visible on the left-hand stone illustrated in Fig. I (see Fig. L) and the upper stone in Fig. 8 (see Fig. M). This arrangement finds it parallels in other medieval temples where "split kudus often contain some architectural motif such as one or more pilasters, a niche, or even a miniature representation of a temple. These pilasters at Chigha Sarai show a peculiar treatment of their capitals which is absolutely identical with that on the small decorative pilasters over the doorway of temple 'C' a Kafir Kot South (see Plate VIII, Fig. N). Whereas, the motifs discussed so far indicate relationship with North Indian medieval architecture in general, this parallel to the pilasters in question has now brought us to the medieval architecture of North-West India of which we have examples not far from the Kumar Valley."[159]

"The temples belonging to this style are not often mentioned in books on Indian art and if they are, then they are treated as offshoots or even part of the school of Kāśmīra. Cunningham says that they belong to the "Kashmirian style." Fergussion mentions the temples of Malot and Kathwal in his Chapter on Kāśmīra

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and Coomaraswamy lists the names of Kafir Kot and Malot in his section on Kāśmīra but neither of them says practically anything about them and in fact it seems as if Coomaraswamy did not realize that there are two Kafir Kots which are 24 milesapart, Kafirkot North and Kafir Kot South or Bilot. Stein again following Cunningham says that these temples show close similarity to those of Kāśmīra, and in recent article Walliullah Khan describes them as "affiliated to the Kāśmīra style."[160]

"Percy Brown devotes the last two paragraphs of his chapter on Kāśmīra architecture. The first group consists of the temples in the Salt Range such as those at Amb, Katas, Malot, and Nandana; the second of those at Bilot or Kafir Kot South; and the last sub-style is that at Kafir Kot North. The points of difference in style which Percy Brown assumes between the second and third group do not in fact exist."[161]

"Percy Brown and authors who have followed him consider the temples in the SaltRange to be more closely related to the architectural style of Kāśmīra than are temples at Kafir Kot North, South and often the temple at Malot is cited as an example of the clear influence of Kāśmīra architecture on the Salt Range temples."[162]

"Malot does indeed display this influence but a careful study of the other temples in this group such as those at Amb, Kalar, sometimes called Sassi da Kallara, Katas, and Nandana near Baghanwala, shows them to differ fundamentally in several points from the architecture of Kāśmīra. The most important difference is the roof, which instead of showing the pyramidal form of Kāśmīra displays the more or less conical śikhara common to the medieval architecture of large parts of North India. Another significant difference is the absence of the triangular pediment so popular in Kāśmīra. The only important detail which these temples of the Salt Range share with the architecture of Kāśmīra is the trefoil arch or niche, but as we shall see further on, it remains to be seen whether this is indeed a result of influence from Kāśmīra."[163]

"On the one hand these temples therefore, show clear differences from the style of Kāśmīra, but on the other hand they display a general relationship to the architecture of Rajputana and East Punjab, and even more marked and close resemblance to the temples at Kafir Kot North and South. We would therefore, propose—(1) to single out the temple at Malot from the group of Salt Range temples (Percy Brown's Group 1) as a rare example of really strong influence of Kāśmīra on the Salt Range; (2) to bring the other temples of the Salt Range together with the temples at Bilot or Kafir Kot South (Percy Brown's Group 2) and Kafir Kot North (Percy Brown's Group 3); (3) to call the style of this new group the medieval architecture of North-West India, for it differs sufficiently from the con-

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temporaneous schools of Rajputana and the East Punjab to justify treatment as a separate branch of North Indian medieval architecture."[164]

Thus, in Barret's opinion discovery of an *āmalaka śīlā* and component stone parts of temple structure found in the grave yards of Chigha Sarai in Afghanistan reveals the existence of a temple belonging to the Kafir Kot group with a small perch, square cell and tapering *śikhara* (Nagara variety) here which along with Kafir Kot, Bilot, and others, may be reasonably assigned to a branch of medieval architecture of N.W. India. Another *āmalaka śīlā*, recovered from Sahr-i-Bahlol, also indicates the existence of such a temple in Sahr-i-Bahlol.[165] The ruined temple at Hund, reveals a square base of a structure which indicates that it may be another temple of the same variety.[166]

Temples of the Salt Range group, except Malot, may be called further development of this school.

The only existing temple attributed to the Shahis in Kāśmīra is the shrine of Vishnu, built by Shahi king Bhīmadeva, during the time of his grand daughter Diddā's rule.[167] This temple has been identified with the Ziarat of Baba Bamdin Shahib.[168] "It is in perfect state of preservation. However, heavy plastering of the walls render it difficult to discern the details of architectural style."[169]

"The ground plan of the temple is a square of 16½ with corner pilasters 2 feet and 1½ inches thick. There are porches with high tri-foiled arches on all sides. There is only one doorway on the north. Other walls are covered with plaster rendering it impossible to see whether they once had doors or not. The porch, one on the river side (where the door is) projects three feet beyond the small pilasters which supports the doorway pedement. The small pedement of the doorway within trifoiled arch is supported on idependent pilasters of its own. The porches are 11 feet one inch wide."[170]

"The interior of the temple is a square of 8 feet. The ceiling is like that of smaller temple at Lidar, which is formed of 9 blocks of stone four of which rest over the angles of the walls. The same process is represented with an upper course of four stones by which the opening is still further narrowed to be a square of 2-7/12 feet, and lastly the opening is closed by a single stone without ornament. This process is also used in constructing the ceiling at Bumzu. The pyramidal roof (found in the cave temple in nearby area and on the smaller temples near Lidar with similar ground plan) is probably buried under the earthen mound of the surmounting square roof."[171]

The above description of Bumzu suggests that it belongs to typical temple architecture of Kāśmīra.

Thus we can trace at least two types of temple architecture of the zone and the period under our discussion. The first type in its formative stage consisted

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of a square sanctum with square ground plan and a flat roof above. This simple structure was further developed in a later period. Instead of flat roof, a tapering *śikhara* took its place. This development is represented by the Kafir Kot and Bilot group, and component stoneparts of Chigha Sarai and ruined marble temple at Hund and Sahr-i-Bahlol. Temples of Salt Range except Malot may represent further development of this type.

The second type is represented by the tripple shrine of Khair Khaneh which shows two stages of evolution of the style. The first phase is indicated by the ancient brick construction at Khair Khaneh which has three rooms rectangular in plan, and a single entrance and flat roof.

The next stage is represented by the main group of Khair Khaneh. The temples with three independent cellules under one flat roof, displayed in a facade, provided with separate entrance. The cellules show a square plan. The shrine at Bumzu is a typical example of Kasmiri architecture.

From the above discussion of the architecture we can conclude that earlier architectural style was retained in the zone and period with a few innovations in the period concerned. In the case of Buddhist structural temples, and monasteries and rock-cut sanctuaries earlier trend was continued though a few innovations were introduced. In the Brahmanical temple development can be noticed. The temple with square ground plan and flat roofs conform to the Gupta school of architecture. But use of *śikhara* type along with square sanctum and small porch shows further development and includes it within Nāgara temple building style of India. The Khair Khaneh shrine may be further embelishment of this style.

Notes and References

1. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 122-130; 180-224; Vol. II, pp. 262-263; *Life*, pp. 54, 56, 57, 58-59, 63-163; Minorsky, op. cit., § 10, 50, 54, 56; *HIED*. II, Allahabad Reprint, p. 172; *Raj.*, Vol. I, V. 178; *Studies in Ind.Mid. Hist.*, Ch. III, p. 24; IV. p. 47.
2. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 126, 181, 183, 184, 199, 214, 217; II. 262.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 126. Description of the collapsing of a mountain by Hsüan Tsang shows that landslips are the natural phenomenon of this country, which the inhabitants tries to explain in this way. Prof. A.H. Habibi, "The Temples of Sunagir, Zoon or Zoor," article No. 6, *Afghanistan*, Vol. XXV, 1972, No. 1, June. Also see the description of Kafiristan by travellers in 19th-20th centuries.
7. As on note 1.
8. *Watters*, Vol. I, p. 123.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

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10. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-212.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-211.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
18. S. Levi & E, Chavannes, 'L' Itineraire d' ou-k'ong,' *J.A.* 1895, 9[e]serie, Tome IV, pp. 337ff. Eng. trans. "Itenerary of On-K'ong," *Calcutta Review*, August-September, 1922, pp. 193ff., 489ff. Relevant passages has been translated into English by Dr. Mukherjee as well.
19. *Watters*, pp. 122-23, 129, 214, 221.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 111, No. 21—"The city is situated at the foot of the mountains and possessing a strong fortress.;" also Md. Aufi, *Jami-ul-Hikayat*, *HIED*, Vol. II, Indian Reprint, Allahabad, p. 172.
25. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 24, Ch. IV, p. 47.
26. Minorsky, op. cit., § 10, 50, 54.
27. *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 69; D.R. Shahni, "Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum," *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, pp. 293-301—"A Śaradā Inscription from Hund," *EI*, Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97-98; K.V. Ramesh, "A Fragmentary Śaradā Inscription from Hund," *EI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II, 1971, pp. 94-98; Abdur Rehman, op. cit.
28. *ASIAR*, Vol. V, p. 45, pl. XII, fig. 6; A. Stain, *ASIAR*,Vol. XI. pp. 95-116.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
30. *E & W.N.S.*, Vol. XIX, No. 3-4, 1969, p. 545, Fig. 8.
31. A. Stein, *ASIAR*, Vol. XV, 1915-16, p. 76, pl. XLV, fig. d.
32. *Baladhuri*, Pt. II, LXVII, Ch. II, p. 147.
33. G. Buhler, "Pehevā Prasaśti of the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj," *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 242-250.
34. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 10-16; 1923-24, pp. 68-69.
35. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 10-16. 1914-15, p. 4, also 1921-22, pp. 10ff.
36. As on not 34 above.
37. *Ibid.*
38. As on note 35 above.
39. *ASIAR*, 1908-09, pp. 38-57, 1910-11, pp. 25-32.
40. Barthaux, *Les Fouilles De Hadda*, Paris, 1930, I, pp. 14, 37-45; Stupa TK 23, Stupa TK 80, p. 92; Vihāra, B. 56 Stupa 55, 180; relevant passages has been translated by Dr. Mukherjee.
41. *ASIAR*, 1875, Vol. V, p. 45f.; 1909-10, pp. 46-62; 1911-12, p. 95ff.
42. J. Hackin, *Recherches Archaeologiques au col de Khair Khaneh pres de Kabul*, 1936; English trans. Dr. J. Hackin, "Archaeological Exploration of the Neck of the Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)," *JGIS*, Vol. III, 1936 pp. 23-35.
43. A. Foucher & H. Hergreaves, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra*, *M.A.S.I* : 1915, p. 20.
44. As on note 31 above.
45. As on note 27 above.
46. J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "An Ancient Hindu Temple in Eastern Afghanistan," *OA*, N.S., Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 61-69.

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47. J. Hackin, The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan," *JGIS*, Vol. VII, 1940, No. 1, pp. 1-14; No. 2, pp. 85-106—Translated by U.N. Ghosal.
48. J. Hackin & J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches Archaeologiques a Bamian*, Paris, 1933; *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. VIII, Col. 9, 10, Indo-Iranian Art, Irano-Buddhist School.
49. As on note 39 above.
50. As on note 40 above.
51. As on note 47 above.
52. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, Ch. 21, pp. 388-390, Ch. 22. pp. 391-397; Ch. 18, pp. 358-364.
53. *Taxila*, 1975, pp. Ch. 22, pp. 391-397, Ch. 18, pp. 358-364, Ch. 21, pp. 388-398.

53a. *Watters*, Vol. I, pp. 240-41.

54. B. Rowland, *Art & Architecture in India*, p. 87; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Indian Reprint, Bombay, 1959. Ch. VII, p. 33.

"This religious establishment consists usually of a somewhat irregular aggregation of buildings, in which however, there are two main structures, the stupa and the saṅghārāma or quarter for the monks. The planning of some of these monasteries was obviously fortuitous, often consisting of a complicated grouping of structures, an arrangement which may be traced to the fact that they sometimes occupied the site of ancient stupas, which afterwards enlarged and elaborated, gathered around them many miscellaneous buildings, including chapels, priests' houses and innumerable votive stupas, so that there is little schematic coordination. Such were these of Dharmarajika at Taxila, and Jamalgarhi, thirty-six miles north of Peshawar, also the group of sanctuaries at Charsada in Peshawar valley and at Manikiyala near Rawalpindi, besides several others in Afghanistan. Some, however, of more moderate size and unencumbered by any traditional foundation were designed with an attempt at symmetry as for instance those at Takht-i-Bahai, north of Hoti Mardan, and Mohra Moradu and Jaulian at Taxila. But whatever, the scheme, the central feature was the stupa, whether it was of the large reliquary type as at Manikiyala, or the devotional kind, standing within its own court, as at Takht-i-Bahai. There is evidence that the stupa of this region was in the form of the traditional hemispherical mound, as devised by the emperor Asoka, a shape which, at Manikiyala, inspite of, repeated enlargements, it still retains. But the tendency of the Gandharan builders was to depart form the orthodox yet commonplace tumulus composition to more inspiring proportions and character. Their aim was to develop it into an architectural composition of more inspiring proportions and character. Their aim was the creation of a structure of more height, which they obtained by elevating the stupa on a tall platform, and by elongating the body of the stupa upwards. The upper surface of the platform, which was approached by a flight of steps, became the processional path, while the stupa itself, being composed of a series of deminishing drums and surmounted by a slender many-tiered umbrella, began to assume the appearance of a pagoda. So lofty were some of these stupas, that the Chinese pilgrims have described them as pagodas, and it is not impossible that in the same way as the Buddhist-Indian torana gateway became the torri of Japan, so the many stories stupa of India may have given some of its character to the multiple-pitched roofs of the Chinese temple. In addition to changes in the proportions of the stupa, plastic ornamentation, often brilliantly coloured, in the form of cornices, mouldings, niches, arcades, modillions, and quasi-architectural elements, were freely applied. Against a background of the bare and featureless mountain side, these richly patterned and painted shrines, although perhaps inclined to be garish, would present an effective and colourful picture. One of the most representative examples of this type of monastic sanctuary is that at Takht-i-Bahai, which although ruined is still understandable. In spite of the varying levels of the rocky spur to which it so picturesquely clings, it has been designed on an axial plan with all its parts logically arranged. The principal buildings are contained within a rectangle of

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approximately two hundred feet in length, and consists of (a) stupa court on the south, (b) the monastery on the north and (c) an intervening terrace for the reception of votive stupas, small chapels and similar structural contributions. To the remainder of the site being taken up by various subsidiary edifices, [their exact uses at present not having been determined, but they were probably a refractory, vestment chamber, kitchens, and servants quarters. Of these structures, the court with its stupa, was the main feature and was accordingly most artistically treated (Pl. XXXIII). The courtyard was an open quadrangle measuring 45 feet by 55 feet, and in the centre, on a platform of 20 feet side and 8 feet high, rose the tall tepering stupa, which with its six-tiered umbrella, reached a total height of 50 feet. An elegant stair way on the north side gave access to the platform for circumbulation, but the ordinary processional path was around the quadrangle at the base. Enclosing the court on three sides was a range of small chapels, each containing a cell or niche not as in the Hīnayāna examples for the accommodation of the priests, but in accordance with the reformed system for the reception of either a statue of the Buddha, or a votive stupa. The roofs of the chapels were so designed that a Cupola alternated with a trifoil vault, each an architecturally decorative motif and Hart depicting a separate constructional bee-hive hut, and the later from the conventional shape of the Chaitya hall. These particular roofs over the miniature chapels of the monastery are a distinctive feature of the Gandhāra style; in their construction, no true arches are found, as the method invariably employed was that of corbelling.

By means of a passage and flights of steps on account of the differences in levels, the court of the stupas was connected with the monastery (b) as a church with its abby. The passage traversed the open space (c) reserved for stupas and other symbols contributed to the shrine as acts of merit while the front walls of the monastery facing this enclosure, were also made into a range of cells to contain votive offerings of structural form or imagery. The monastery proper or saṅghārāma for the accommodation of the monks was built on a plan common to all such Buddhist structure." The region under discussion is full of ruins of stupas and monasteries. Especially, the region round Peshawar has preserved the remains of a quite large number of stupas in the different stages of its evolution. The traditional hemispherical form as presented by the great stupa at Sanchi is clearly recognised in the small stupa at Chakpat in the Swat Valley and in the great stupa at Manikiyala. This was also the form of Dharmarajika Stupa at Taxila and that of Stupa at Jamalgarhi. In the 4th-5th century the stupa was generally placed in the open court yard which was further surrounded by small votive stupas. As is already discussed the monastery consisted of ranges of cells arranged around a central court yard. These rooms were simple and unadorned, but on the walls between each chamber, and protected by a verandah, it became the custom to place large figure or groups, often of stucco and vividly coloured, which caused these usually sombre retreats to become animated picture galleries of sacred subjects. The characteristic tendency to elongation of the stupa is also equally apparent in Gandhāra. This may be recognised in the provision of a tall drum or a series of drums, raised over a square plinth of one or more terraces approached by stairways. The topmost section of the drum supports the hemisperical dome with a square harmikā crowned by a many-tiered chhatrāvaiī of conical shape. The last is made up of flat round discs rising one above the other in gradually diminishing sizes, the uppermost one tappering to a point. Although the height and elongation of the structure are thus clearly emphasised, the hemispherical dome still retains its position of importance. The body of the stupa, especially of the plinth end the drum, is richly carved with sculptures set in niches between pillasters all around, and this arrangement forms the characteristic mode of ornamentation of the Gandharan stupas. The Stupa of this distinctive shape and form have been found in large numbers of different sites throughout Gandhāra and give us an idea

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of what the bigger monuments of this order, now mostly ruined looked like in their original state.

Another important form of Gandharan architecture was saṅghārāma or monastery. The monastery in Gandhāra was designed on much the same lines as a private house, *i.e.*, a square block formed by four rows of cells along the four sides of an inner quadrangle. They were usually built of stone and in the later period of bricks. As the monastic organisation developed, they became elaborate brick structure with many adjuncts. Often they consisted of several storeys and along each side of the inner court-yard there usually ran a long corridor with the roof supported on pillars.

55. *Ibid.*, The regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra are full of ruins of stupas and monasteries showing different stages of evolution.
56. See notes 14, 18 and also 'Ghoshrāwa Prasasti of Vīradeva', *Gauḍaleklamālā*, p. 45ff.
57. Cunningham appears to have suggested for the first time Shah-ji-ki-dheri as the site of Kanishka's monument. This is evident from a Report on the Explorations of Mound Shah-ji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar by a detachment of sappers and miners under the command of Lt. C.A. Crompton, R.E. dated 30th March, 1875 in the *Punjab Government Gazette*, Supplement, 18th Nov. 1875.
58. *ASI AR*, 1908-09, pp. 50-53.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, 1908-09, pp. 38-59, 1910-11, pp. 25-32.
62. *Ibid.*, See fig. a in pl. I.

"Kanishka Stupa is of cruciform type. All the large cruciform stupas are in Trans-Indus region and would appear to be connected with similar monuments in Central Asia. Of this type are the Rawak Stupa in Khotan, the Ahin Posh stupa in Jelalabad Valley and also that discovered at Takhal Bala, near Jamrud, only some five or six miles from Shah-ji-ki-dheri itself." See Fig. a.

63. *Ibid.*, 1908-09, Pt. II, pp. 38-59.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. K.W. Dobbins, *The Stupa and Vihara of Kanishka*, Ch. II, pp. 12-15; Appendix I. English translation of Sogdian, Saka-Khotanese, Arabic, Chinese and Korean Works, pp. 45-54.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 45
73. "Ghoshrāwa Praśasti of Vīradeva', *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 45 ff.
74. *Ibid.*, Dobbins, op. cit., p. 46.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*

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84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
90. Dobbins, op. cit., Ch. II, p. 15.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
92. As on note 40, p. 64.
93. *Ibid.*, See the stupas mentioned in note 40, illustrated *in Les Foulles de Hadda.*
94. *Ibid.*
94a. As on note 40 above.
95. *Ibid.*
96. See previous note 53.
97. As on note 47 above.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
98a. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Indian Reprint, 1959, p. 33.
99. *Watters*, pp. 125, 126, 184, 218.
100. *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, Ch. II, pp. 55-118.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.61.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-67.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98, 100-101, 112.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
108. *Ibid.*, (Not illustrated here).
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*, p. 97; Mr. Simpson, "Bauddha Caves in Kabul," *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 82; Rev. C. Swinnerton, "Ancient Remains in Afghanistan," *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 188; "Buddhist Remains in Jelalabad District," *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 227.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
116. Mr. Simpson, op. cit., p. 82.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *The Classical Age*, Ch. XIX, p. 466.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 466.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 470.
126. *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. VIII—Indo-Iranian Art, Irano-Buddhist School, Col. 8, 9.
127. *Ibid.*, Col. 9.
128. *Ibid.*, Cols. 9-10.

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129. *Ibid.*
130. For Kasmir Smats Cave, See Jas. Burgess, *The Ancient Movements, Temples, Sculptures of India*, 1897, I, I, pl. 152-153.
131. *Watters*, op. cit., pp. 214, 221.
132. Foucher, op. cit., p.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. *Ibid.*
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Ibid.*
139. Dr. Hackin, op. cit., pp. 23-35, translated into English by Dr. Kalidas Nag.
140. See notes 25, 32 above.
141. For Kafirkot and Bilot. See *ASIAR*. Pt. III, 1914-15.
142. Dr. Hackin, op. cit., p. 28.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 28; M. Hallade, *The Gandhara Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*, London, 1968, p. 158.
144. Dr. Hackin, op. cit , p. 23.
144a. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*
153. "Undated praśasti of Mahendrapāla," *EI*, Vol. I. pp. 242-250.
154. *ASI AR*, 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 4, pl. III, fig. a & b; 1920-21, conservation, p. 10 (last report 1919-20), 1913-14; See fig. b & e, pl. II.
155. *Ibid.*
156. As on note 46 above. See fig. d, e, f, g, pls. III, IV.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*, See fig. h, i in. pl. V.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid.*
165. *ASI AR*, 1911-12, Pt. 2, p. 116; Sahar-i-Bahlol Āmalaka Śilā.
166. Hund, *ASI AR*, 1923-24.
167. *Rāj*, Book VI, V, 178.
168. *ASI AR*, 1915-16, p. 76, Pl. XLVII, d.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*
171. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER—VII

Art and Architecture (II)

PAINTING

A

Evidence of the Activities of Painting in Kapiśa and Gandhāra

Fresco Paintings were used in decorating cave temples and palaces in Western Asia,[1] Iran[2] and in some parts of Afghanistan[3] from very early times. Unfortunately the origin and early history of this art in Kapiśa and Gandhāra is not quite clear. Painted pottery[4] and painted images[5] show that painting in that form was known.

From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, we know that the Buddhist monasteries and cave temples of Kapiśa and Gandhāra were decorated with paintings.[6] The walls of the Sa-la-ka (Hostage's monastery) monastery "had paintings of the hostages, who in appearance and dress were somewhat like the Chinese."[7] Again while describing Kanishka-mahāvihāra, he not only mentioned Buddha images of golden colour, but also referred to a painting of the Buddha, sixteen feet high with two heads.[8] He also narrated the legend[9] connected with this painting. According to him, like the erection of Buddhist stupas, use of painting to decorate the monasteries, were also held as an act of merit.[10] The donors of two unequal means caused this two headed picture of the Buddha to be made.[11]

The portraiture of Chinese princes and the representation of the Buddha with two heads indicate considerable knowledge of this art of painting. Unfortunately we have very few remains at hand. Various caves in Hadda, which contains remnants of coloured plaster on the walls, preserved traces of fresco painting.[12] "One of these has a design executed in red upon a green base, within a circle. The upper part has been wholly disfigured, but lower part is decipherable and represents a pair of legs seated on a throne or stool with knees wide apart and the feet crossed. Surrounding the circle there are a number of circles enclosing cinque foils marked in red on a white ground."[13]

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The Rev. Swinterton, who discovered the above traces of frescoes, also found other caves (some of them vast in extent) in Hadda with coloured plaster.[14] "The whole of these caves are beautifully arched or vaulted and plastered. The plaster is now black with smoke, but in one cave, where the plaster was but slightly blackened, there appeared a fresco, consisting of broad right lines of black crossing each other at right angles."[15]

"In one of the domed caves, Rev. Swinnerton discovered unmistakable traces of fresco painting.[16] The dome was surrounded with Buddhas, bust-size, enclosed in borders, the whole being imitations of panelling. The roof as in other cases was dreadfully obscured with the effects of smoke, and the plasters had evidently and wilfully broken; but enough remained to show that there were twelve Buddhas in each row; that round the head of the each Buddha was the nimbus, giving the whole representation greatly the character of pictures of the saints;[17] and that some of the colours used by the old artists were certainly blue, yellow and black." Thus the inner surface of the dome was blue, and on this were painted Buddhas apparently in black with yellow outlines.[18]

Another mural painting from Hadda,[19] now preserved in Muse Guimet in Paris, shows two winged genie bearing a large wreath. The figures were outlined with black and grey colours against grey and greenish background. The figures recall Irano-Hellenistic theme. The winged figures may well be compared with winged Nike holding wreath as can be seen on coins and reliefs.[20]

All these remnants of frescoes show that the fresco painting were used to decorate the cave temples and rock-cut monasteries of Hadda.

"It is certain that the paintings of Hadda (especially the image of standing Buddhas) come very close to the representational forms of early christian art. These arts were also employed in friezes of Buddhas painted in the vestibule of the sanctuary of Gr. G. of Bamian (The continuity and wide diffusion of this type of image are noteworthy). The form of the standing Buddha might seem to be derived completely from the Roman Byzantine west, but the pictorial tradition of frontal image already existed at the time of Kanishka I and later was praticularly wide-spread in Kapiśa. The form of the standing Buddha was forerunner of the stylized forms of many Central Asian figures."[21] The winged figures in the second fresco painting may be the metically and stylistically compared with similar figures at Miran.[22] (in Central Asia).

"The pictorial technique of this group of painting is distinctly Indian. The wall paintings of Miran (whose technique is similar) appear altogether belong to Gandhāra school."[23]

"A most interesting part of the technique of the paintings of the period is the method of preparation of the ground for painting. The *Vishnudharmottaram* lays

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down a complete prescription for laying of the ground for painting which it calls vajralepa; but judging from the extant remains this prescription does not seem to have been used anywhere. Powdered rock, clay and cowdung, not infrequently mixed with chaff or vegetable fibres, sometimes also with mudga decotion or molass, were made into a paste-like substance which was thoroughly and evenly pressed like plaster on the hard porous surface of the rock. The plaster was then levelled and polished with a trowel, and when still wait was laid over with a coat of lime. The entire ground was generally allowed to dry before any colour was applied.[24]

The outlines were drawn first and then colour was applied."[25]

B

Paintings in Nearby Areas

There are remains of paintings in such places, *viz.*, Bamian,[26] Kakrak,[27] Dukhtar-i-Noshirvan,[28] and Fondukistan[29] which are situated not very far from our area and partly belong to our period and so may help us in forming some idea of the character of the painting in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

Bamian flourished from the second century to eighth century A.D. as stated earlier. The rock cut monasteries, sanctuaries, grottos of Bamian reveals an extensive use of fresco-painting with sculpture and architecture,[30] and traces clearly the development of a particular style.[31] The Frescoes of Bamian in its essential is of Greco-Buddhist (Gandharan) tradition.[32] To it were added Sasano-Iranian elements 'which were initially predominant in local style evolving from this fusion.'[33] "Subsequently Gupta Indian influence came to balance and at length outweigh that of Iran thereby modifying the character of the later work.[34] "The decoration of the oldest caves (C.D.) consisted primarily of paintings.[35] It was later replaced by ornaments in relief."[36]

"The art of Bamian was essentially religious and dedicated to the service of Buddhism in its Hīnayāna form. Tendency towards constant repitition of the same or similar aspects of the Buddha, which recalls the endless reproduction of the figure of the Master on the stupas at Hadda and Taxila, appears early. Through these frescoes it is possible to trace the formation and development of Irano-Buddhist style despite the confusing intersperson of hybrid elements to distinguish the main lines of its evolution."[37]

"The decoration of the cave G "with Buddhas painted in the dome,' indicates the continuity of 'the Hellenistic and Greco-Buddhist tradition.' "Only a donor displays the regional costume of a long tunic and with double revers which re-appear in Ser India."[38]

First traces of Sasanian influence appear in the paintings of caves C and D 'in

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the typically pleated ribbons' (Kusti) 'that widen out at the ends.' This motif, an emblem of dignity in Iran, first 'appeared as accessories in the decoration of painted domes of the assembly halls and sanctuaries of group C, where they framed a vase-like motif—an Iranian element above the arches surrounding the standing Buddhas or were strewn over a background studded with little flowers.'[39] In costume, pose and gesture, the seated and standing Buddhas in this group remains within the Gandhāran or Greco-Buddhist tradition, but their haloes—composed of concentratic circles of different colours and bold contrast of tones is characteristic of Irano-Buddhist school. These details and the entire composition in the dome of the sanctuary C were later transmitted to Serindia, to Kirish and Sim Sim and in a more fully developed form to Kizil (cave of Pigeons I, Pl. 480)."[40]

The decoration of the group D shows further development of this school which absorbed many Sasanian elements. 'In the vestibule, the beaded moldings and the motifs in medallions' like 'winged horse, boar's head, two birds back to back holding in their beaks a string of pearls,' 'are unmistakably of Iranian origin.' "On the ceiling of the sanctuary are a series of heads in relief; these vigorous masks of mustached men with sinous beards and conical caps also are descended from an Iranian tradition, though one of more ancient origin."[41]

"The painted decoration of the niche sheltering the 120 feet Buddha attests to a renewal of influence from Iran. The mural paintings in the niche of 120 feet Buddha revealed that not only different motifs were taken from Sasanian Iran but also Sasanian themes were used. "The soffit of this niche is covered with a vast composition, the subject matter of which is derived directly from the cults practiced in Parthian Iran and Western Asia and in particular in the caravan series of Palmyra and Dura Europos to which several details can be traced. The painting shows a towering solar divinity in a chariot drawn by four winged horses grouped in pairs and shown in profile on either side of the chariot. The large halo encircling the divinity is bordered with short rays, recalling rayed haloes of Iranian tradition."[48]

"The hieratic conception, regid pose, and bold colouring of a Bodhisattva painted on the soffit of the niche of a seated Buddha (Gr. E, Pl. 13), attest to the presence of Iranian stylistic tendencies in the Irano-Buddhist school at Bamian; the immobile pose and intense gaze lend this figure a certain mystic strength. The details of the coiffure and the costume are Iranian, while the arch that frames the Bodhisattva and the balconies each dominated by a figure are typical of Greco-Buddhist style. The constant juxtaposition of Indian and Iranian elements at Bamian was due partly to the consistent dealings there with both India and Iran and partly to the fact that artists of both schools frequently worked side by side. A typically example of this co-operation is a Bodhisattva of Group I, in a rigid pose, with costume of Indian fashion, who holds a stem with three flowers like the plants

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of Sasanian landscape; at the same time the conventional use of a fluttering ribbon resembles the Kusti of Sapur I and Bahram II at Naqsh-i-Rajab and Bishapur. The scarf wound sketchily around the body is another detail characteristic of the Irano-Buddhist art of Bamian; the motif of this parrennial strip of gossamer with its unrealistic undulations, may be seen on the figure of a stringed instrument player at Pyandzikhent (Russian Turkistan, 7th century) and appeared in the later works of Tun-huang at the eastern end of the terminus of the Silk Route."[49]

The influence of Gupta India was blended quite felicitiously into the already assimilated influence of Iran. The essentially Indian motif of a balcony with figures half-concealed (first used at Bharhut) appeared constantly. In Group I (Pl. 12) a troupe of supple and lively, if rather heavy, female dancers and musicians appear in an otherwise, auster and schematic composition with rows of medallions each containing a Buddha. These fair and dark-skinned female figures of different ethnic types display the familiar Iranian ribbons which here flout naturally. The figures seem to wear light-fittings, low-cut corselets exposing their breasts (I. Pl. 476); "similar representation of female figures with same costume is also met with in Central Asia, in Tumshuk, Kizil, Kumtura and Shorchuk."[50]

The same fusion of "Indian and Iranian elements and features of the fully developed Irano-Buddhist style stands out in the painted decoration that embelish the dome of the one of the sanctuaries in the nearby valley of Kakrak." The iconography has remained simple; the same Buddhas are constantly associated and repeated in a sort of monotonous "litany," which nevertheless is not lacking in a certain auster grandeur (Pl. 8)."[51]

"The majority of caves near the 175 feet Buddha seem to belong to a later period (6th even early 7th century), and are marked by an increase in the relief decoration (Caves I and XI). The frescoes of Cave XI reveals an elaborate net-work of hexagonal coffers, each containing a small seated Buddha, which surrounds a Central octagon with another seated Buddha." "In spirit, the composition is close to that of Kakrak while this system of coffering is remniscent of that observed in various Syrian monuments at Dura Europos and Baalbeck in particular (ceiling of the temple of Bacchus); subsequently hexagons are used as decorative motifs in Sasanian art, in textiles and stucco work of the late period (Bishapur, Ctesephon). Hackin also found some curious heads with pointed hats in this dome at Bamian which he compared with certain images of priests from Dura-Europos; their head-dresses too reappears on a few Sasanian coins and on the spirits represented around a fire-alter at Pyandzhikent. The complexity of the elements which penetrated to Bamian thus is demonstrated vividly in sanctuaries I and XI, where Iranian motifs of widely diverse epochs mingle with motifs of Indian and even Roman West Asian origin; some perpetuate themes from the immemorial past, while others anticipate new themes."[52]

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"The decoration in the upper part of the niches of 175 feet Buddha seems to have been executed during the final period of activity at Bamian. Although certain parts have disappeared completely, enough remains to give an idea of the compositional scheme and figure style. Under the arris of the projection of the niche are contiguous, oval medallions containing genies and their companions in groups of three, flying toward the Buddha to present him with flowers and garlands. High in the vault, above ornamental bands of draperies and flowers, looms a pantheon of huge seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, enriched with multi-coloured haloes. Here again, Iranian inspiration is conspicuous in such details as beribboned vases, the diadems with three crescents, and flying ribbons. A donor bearing a tray of offerings wears a long tight-fitting tunic with revers, boots, and a baldric holding a short dagger—an ensemble worn throughout the regions between Iran and Serindia, examples of which recur at Pyandzhikent, Kizil and Kumtura. It is however, the influence of Gupta India that predominates in this composition, manifesting itself in the presence of the female figures with strongly inflected posture, in the theme, of the flying figures, in the predominance of Indian fashion as examplified by the bare torsos and gossamer draperies and in the affectation of the hands, which are extremely elegant, expressive and slender. The slight mannerist tendency discernable here and there is a reflection of the similarity of Ajanta."[53]

"The art of Bamian founded on Greco-Buddhist traditions subsequently permeated by elements preceeding chiefly from Sasanian Iran, evolved an Irano-Buddhist style. It assimilated and blended a variety of influences and attaining full maturity (late 4th and 5th century ?), revealed its truely individual character in such work as the beautiful Bodhisattva of Group E and the dome at Kakrak. A fresh influx of Gupta Indian influence subsequently modified the style, causing it to assume what might be described as a Sasano-Gupta aspect, which was to be expressed in slightly later work at Fondukistan. The art of Bamian, religious in nature, was principally concerned with the exaltation of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas; indeed, from hieratic representations of these superhuman beings to the timeless quality of the schematic composition with their endless repetitions everything seems to serve this purpose. It is the predisposition towards repetition and the formalism pervading the art of Bamian which make it, if not the direct prototype, a close ancestors of subsequent manifestations of Buddhist art; the theme of the Thousand Buddhas which first appeared at Chinese art of the Wei dynasty and reached full development in the depictions on the walls and ceilings of sanctuaries in Central Asia."[54]

Mural paintings preserved in the small monastery of Fondukistan is closely related to Bamian group. It is not unreasonable to assume that it shows further development of stylistic tendencies present at Bamian. Bamian group of paintings in its last stage of activity was heavily influenced by those of Ajanta. The clay

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sculptures and painted decoration of Fondukistan reveals unmistakable influence of India.

Among the frescoes of Fondukistan mention may be made of those in the Niche of E and K.[55]

The murals of Niche E[56] (see fig. O.) consists of a Bodhisattva and Buddha (portrayed between pilastars at the entrance) and two female figures (who adorned the base of the niche). Of these the figure of the Buddha is very much damaged. "The figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya in good condition, exhibits very Indian suppleness and graceful elegance inspite of a certain clumsiness in the portrayal of its left arm. Costume and jewellary worn by the Bodhisattva betrays presence of Iranian and Indian motifs. This image continues the charm and grace of Indian models of the sixth century and could be compared with certain paintings, specially of white Tara.[57] The sources of Indian inspiration of these Indian images may obviously be assigned to the same epoch, as the paintings of Fondukistan."[58]

"The fresco painting with two female figures which adorned the base of the Niche E[59] had suffered much damage. Two female figures with a clear complexion, the other with a dark skin, appeared to come out of the background on a seedbed of four leaves. The circular ear-pendants appeared large. The white female wears a stripped dhoti (sari ?). Both figures have the nude torso. The breasts are particularly developed. The style is clearly Indian. Presence of these types of female figures is also noticed in Bamian."[60] But the theme and details of the paintings preserved in the Niche K[61] of Fondukistan represents another stylistic element present at Bamian. The murals of this Niche K consists of the lunar and solar divinities standing side by side. The details of costume and attributes are Iranian, while the lunar deity's diadem bearing three crescents repeats those of Bamian and Kakrak."[62]

Thus the paintings of Fondukistan shows preservation of two stylistic tendencies of Bamian.

From the above discussion we can conclude that the fresco-paintings of all these areas, which developed side by side, are related to one another. The paintings of this area in its earlier phase followed the Greco-Buddhist tradition, which was well-illustrated by those of Hadda, Bamian (Caves C, D, G). Subsequently this trend was influenced by the Iranian elements. Ultimately influence of Gupta India modified these styles. And the resultant stylistic traits in their turn spread to Central Asia (Khotan).

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CHAPTER VIII

Art and Architecture (III)

SCULPTURE

'A'

Background

Sculptural activities were known in Gandhāra and Kapiśa from a period much earlier than the age with which we are concerned.[1] Cult icons, narrative panels and sculptures used for embellishing architecture have been found discovered in different areas of the region once included in Gandhāra and Kapiśa.[2] Incisive studies of this art objects have shown in the early centuries of the Christian era analogous art style, developed in both the regions, which inspite of local marginal difference, may be considered to have been products of one single school of art. This school may be named after Gandhāra, since this name has already been used to designate the art style which flourished in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The sculptural art of Gandhāra was the matically religious—mainly Buddhist. Analytical studies of the origin and development of stylistic traits of this art have revealed an indigenous substratum: This was embodied, augmented and embellished by Hellenistic style. Iranian and Central Asian stylistic elements played a role in the formation of this art. One can also discern certain indications of influences from the direction of Mathura. Two different periods of development can be noticed in the sculptural art of Gandhāra during the centuries prior to the age under review. The first phase may be dated to circa 1st century A.D. to 3rd century A.D. and the second may be placed between middle of 3rd and 7th century A.D.

Various materials were used for sculptural activities in Gandhāra. Among them were stone, stucco, terracotta, wood and metal.

The natural area of the activities of the art concerned was no doubt Gandhāra, which included a greater part of the north-western area of the Indian subcontinent. But interestingly enough, "the style and technique of the art developed in the area

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have distinct similarity with those of a number of art objects found in remote areas as the cities of Balkh and Termez on the Oxus river in the north-west, Devi-ni-mori in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat in the south-east, Bamiyan in the west, the upper Swat valley and Kāśmīra in the north or north-east and Mathura in the east."[9] The influence of this art may have penetrated even the inner parts of Central Asia, as indicated in the art objects found at Miran and at some sites of Khotan.[10]

Human figure representing the god, divinity or man, was the central point of attention for Gandhāra artists even though animal and vegetal world did not escape their attention.

Narrative panels formed an important section of sculptural art of the first phase.[11] Human figures, appearing in any such panels or as detached sculpture manifests a mascular body, perfect oval face with curving eye-brows over straight nose, eyes—half-closed in the representation of Buddha and wide open in others. The face generally has calm and serin expression. Hair is arranged in natural waves or curls. The monastic mantle of the Buddha covers both the shoulders whereas, the monks are represented with right shoulder bare. The monastic mantle of the Buddha and monks and also apparel of others have separate volume and are arranged in heavy folds. (See fig. pp. IX) Sometimes drapperies are so arranged as to reveal a part of the torso underneath the garments. Some sculptures display Iranian and Central Asian costumes.[12]

In this first period of activities, stone sculptures attain a lithiness of movement which ebbed out of sculptural art of the second phase which began in the middle of 3rd to 7th century A.D. The stone sculptures representing human figures became not only a little rigid, but also somewhat disproportionate in appearance in the 3rd-4th-5th centuries A.D. For example we can refer to sculptures of Shotorak[13] and Paitava,[14] *etc.*

Former narrative style receded to the background. Cult images relating to the Brahmanical faith began to appear in number.[15] Interestingly enough stone became less popular as medium of expression of art activity and its place was to a great extent taken up by stucco.

In the next two centuries representations of human figure in art became more conventional and degenerate. "Heads deprived of their nobility in a period of decadence, became heavy and inexpressive and lost their vigour. Like the hands and feet, losing their naturalness the waves of hair too often finished by becoming dry. Draperies were thinner than the drapiries of earlier school and in later half of the second period it became sketchy and only indicated by lines.[16]

Nevertheless even in this period of decadence the Gandhāra artists absorbed certain outside influences of Gupta stylistic elements in the treatment of smooth,

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though rather emasculate form of some sculptural figures.[17] In these figures, the drapery is like that of numerous Gupta sculptures, semi-transparent clearly indicating the body beneath the clothing.[18] This trait is particularly visible in Brahmanical icons.[19] However, in the representation of the Buddha, the drapery with thinner concave folds was given a separate volume.[20] Influence of Iranian style was also evident from the rigid form of the bodies, their bulging eyes and from their dress and ornaments.[21] This is represented by the Vishṇu and Kārttikeya images from Taxila and Grand Miracle of Śrāvastī, (See fig. q. pl. X), and the seated Buddha figure from Afrido Dheri.

All these above-mentioned stylistic elements are fore-runner of the sculptural trends in the following centuries. To this were added artistic traits of the Gupta school and in later period Kāśmīra style.

'B'

Sculptures of Gandhāra

(*i*) *Stone Sculptures*

The school of sculpture in Gandhāra proper in the beginning of the 7th century, was thus related to the earlier style which is a amulgum of features of late Gandhāra, and Iranian art. In some cases Gupta element was also present. The figural representation of a lady in white lime stone,[22] two mukha liṅgas,[23] and pot-stone statues of Śiva-Pārvatī[24] are the illustrations of this style.

Persistance of late Gandhāra style is noticed in the above mentioned figure of a lady of considerable charm.[25] (Fig. 1) "It is carved from white sheared limestone and is said to have been found at Buner."[26] This statue is preserved upto the bust. The image in question reveals a typical rather heavy and full oval shaped face of late Gandhāra school with usual features. Treatment of wide open eyes, slightly curved eye and eye-brow, straight nose, upturned lower lip, linear treatment of hair recalls similar treatment found among some of the statues of Shotorak.[27] The figure retains a sweetly smiling expression. The pronounced modelling of the bosom may be due to the continuity of trend examplified by a female figure of Shotorak, Hārīti and female donar or due to the influence of stucco school.[28] The flower or rossett or circular hair ornament are met with in the stucco school of 4th-5th centuries A.D.[29] and therefore, suggest the persistance of earlier style.

Barrett takes it to be a piece of heavy Kāśmīri influence and therefore, assigns it to a period slightly earlier than the date of Avantīvarman.[30] But overwhelming presence of late Gandhāra features indicate an earlier date for this sculpture. Therefore, the image in question may be dated to the first half of 7th century A.D. Two marble eka-mukha liṅgas discovered from this region, reveal the presence of

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different artistic traits. The broken eka-mukha-liṅga from Shar-i-Bahlol is one of them.[31] Only the proper right portion of the face is preserved, revealing the right eye, right ear, a portion of the forehead and hair arrangement.[32] Only a sketch of the broken eka-mukha-liṅga is available.[33] From it at least we can say that the broken mukha-liṅga manifests some of the features of late Gandhāra, Gupta and Iranian styles. Hair is indicated by curved incised lines which is a common feature of Gandhāra sculpture during 5th-6th centuries A.D.[34] The fillet worn by the deity, is encrusted with beads or diamonds.[35] This particular variety of fillet is also found on the mukha-liṅga from Koh,[36] dated to Gupta times and on solar image of Khair Khaneh.[37] Dangling locks at the sides bear affinity to those of Sasanian kings portrayed in their coins and sculptures.[38]

The second eka-mukha-liṅga in all likelihood comes from Mardan district of former North-Western Frontier Province of India (mod. Pakistan).[39] "The image is damaged by a wide gash at its nose and chin. There are features about this sculpture, above all the hair arrangement that indicate peculiar survival and influences of the earlier period."[40] The particular icon illustrated contemporary stylistic traits as well. "The god's head is sculptured in pretty strong relief and consequently reveals the ears in all their outline, but only the front part of the neck."[41] (see Fig. No. 2, 3) The shape of the face of Śiva is similar to the rather heavy face of Khair Khana sun with bifurcated chin of late Gandhāra tradition." The swollen rotundity of the chin blend smoothly with the round surface of the liṅga and reveal the desire for balanced masses that characterise Indian post-Gupta art as illustrated by the celebrated examples of Elephanta Cave and Bodhisattva of Vihāra at Ajanta."[42] (Fig. 3 & 4, pl. XIII). The sculptors of these above-mentioned pieces used the effect of light and shadow at their advantage. They fashioned these images in such a way that the effect is of unexpected chiarscuro at another. In the mukha-liṅga the effect of light and shadow is softer. This feature seems to caress the calm-form of the face as though stressing its geometrical purity. The effect is heightened by the sharp precise lines of the narrow and elongated eyes and eye-brows of the image in question. The lids are represented by an engraved line. The third eye is not very different in its form and is placed on the middle of the forehead. Eyes of the image in question are comparable to those of Fondukistan terracottas and Khair Khaneh sun. This may indicate some originality in treatment and may conform to some local tradition as exemplified by the Gandhāra stuccos, one terracotta and another in painted clay from Tapa Sardar (Ghazni)."[43] Long drawn curved eye-brows, placed a little above eyes, are met with in the stucco images of this area and also in Fondukistan terracottas.[44]

"The carefully combed and slightly wavy hairs is neatly parted in the middle, and, except for a small central lozenge shaped patch is folded back upon itself in the form of large parallel wavy bands which rise from the hair-line and converge

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in a top-knot composed of two big tufts twisted into a special shape held and separated by a band also formed of hair. On either side of the neck hang three locks in the form of serpents; these are brought out in low relief on the body of the linga and are arranged in a regular downward tending pattern."[45] (Fig. 3, 4, 5 pl. XII, XIII).

The stylized hair style of the image in question can be subdivided into the arrangement on the forehead, "the chingnon on the top and the dangling locks at the sides. Such a division may seem arbitrary. Yet, the style in question seems in its turn to be based on traditions that are different for each of the components mentioned."[46]

The first and the second part of the hair arrangement of the sculpture are no new features of Gandhāra art. These stylistic traits were present in Gandhāra art as early as 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.[47] These were absorbed as an element of Greeco-Roman art in that period.

However, that may be, the three locks of hair hanging in serpent like fashion on either side of the face of Mahādeva reveals clearly Iranian influence, as stated above (Fig. 4, 5). "The most obvious comparison to this stiff locks is found in portraits of Sasanian sovereigns who also share the type of necklace worn by Śiva.[47a] The ears with markedly elongated earlobes are adorned with earrings bearing external globules."[47b] This particular type of ear-ring is also used by Hūṇa kings of this area, as referred to above."[48]

This mukha-liṅga has been described by Taddie, as an example of Shahi art and as such may be dated accordingly.[49] But the stylistic features indicate blending of late Gandhāra style with Gupta and Iranian and therefore, may be assigned not far removed from 7th or 8th century A.D.

Pot-stone figures of Śiva-Pārvatī[50] suggests persistance of another characteristic of earlier style (Fig. 6 pl. XIV). This pot-stone group of figures, preserved in the British Museum, appears to follow the tendencies of treating frontally a disproportionate somewhat stunted group of figures. These features are known as noted above, from the sculptures of 3rd to 6th centuries A.D.[51] But the modelling of this group shows further degeneration and is not favourably compared with Śiva and Kārttikeya from Taxila.[52]

The upper portion of the body of three headed standing Śiva image is more or less well fashioned. In comparison the carving of the lower part is indifferent—especially the carvings of the legs are crude and clumsy. This is a blemish shared by many otherwise, well-executed statues of early as well as late Gandhāra period. The central head is damaged and its extant portion reveals a full fleshy face conforming to the late Gandhāra style. The eyes which are half-open are done in a grotesque manner. The proper right head depicts his terrible form with

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rolling eyes. The hair is arranged in wavy curls in the centre of the head of the skull, as noticed in Shotorak Buddha[53] and Boddhisattvas.[54] Hair from the two heads is converged into a top-knot over the central head. The shape of his top-knot is similar to that of Kārttikeya from Attock.[55] Śiva wears a semi-transparent garment. The drapery is suggested only by a few lines.

The standing figure of Pārvatī besides the statue of Śiva exhibits all the stylistic characteristics of the Śiva image (Fig. 6). But the face is expressionless. The treatment of the concave folds of the garment are rigid and stylized. The portraiture of Nandi is also stylized. But her crown and ornaments indicate Kāśmīrī influence. This representation of Pārvatī with her modius cap displaying a crescent is stylistically related to the pot stone Pārvatī in the British Museum.[56] Barrett places this group in the 7th century A.D.[57]

The rising trend of Kāśmīra style in the art of Gandhāra as a side effect of Kāśmīra's political ascendency, introduced a new phase of development. This is evident from the pot-stone and marble images in the British Museum.[58]

The pot-stone figure of Pārvatī in the British Museum, comes from the Yusufzai territory.[59] It shows a standing female figure holding a mirror or flower, wearing a śārī, blouse, necklace, bangles and ear-rings (Fig. 7 pl. XIV). Her snail like curly hair is adorned with a modius cap or ornamental flat cap and a flower decoration over the left ear. There is an undecorated halo behind her head. The image in question suggests frontality and shortness in stature as the characteristic traits. The modelling of the torsos, however, indicates introduction of new features. Better delineation of the figure, the pronounced modelling of the belly and bosom may be due to the influence of Kāśmīra art.[60]

The round shape of full fleshy face, slightly portruding eyes, casually carved eye-brows, small nose (though broken) and full sensous lips tend to show indebtedness to the style of an earlier period. Hair arrangement of this figure in snail like curls is met with in the late Gandhāra stone and stucco sculptures as well.[61] The flower decoration over the left ear recalls identical treatment indicated by Akhnur Ushkur terracottas.[62] Her round earrings are quite common among the images of 4th-6th centuries and are also noticed in Hūṇa coins[63] and Fondukistan terracottas.[64]

Transparent drapery is one of the features of late Gandhāra school.[65] The images in question, "nicely illustrates the stylization of the naturalistically rendered hair and disposed drapery when compared with that of the figure of Lakshmī from Brar. The British Museum piece with its crown of crescents and flower decoration over the left ear, treads closely upon the style of Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra."[66] Barrett places it in 7th century A.D.[67] But prevalence of Kāśmirī art forms along with late

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Gandhāra features found in the statue suggest a later date and therefore, may be placed in the second half of eighth century A.D.

Influence of Kāśmīra art is equally apparent in a three headed Vishṇu image in white marble, recorded from Attock[68] (Fig. No. 8 pl. XV). The fourth head is carved in relief on the reverse (Fig. No. 9 pl XV). "The heads are those of a man in the centre (badly damaged) and a boar and a lion on the proper left and right side respectively. These four faces seems to represent the four principal vyūha forms of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, namely, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha. Images of this group, though without the fourth head are found at Mathura of the Gupta period, in Rajasthan, and in Gujarat of about eleventh century A.D. An image with a fourth face of the Chandella period was discovered at Baneras. This type of image was most popular in Kāśmīra and the surrounding areas which seems to have been a centre of Vyūha cult. Examples of the three faced Vishṇu-image are found on the walls of the ante-chamber in the Martand temple which belongs to the reign of Lalitāditya (circa A.D. 724-760), the greatest ruler of Karkota dynasty. A number of images with the additional demon's face were discovered at Avantīpura, which was built by Avantīvarman (A.D. 855-882)."[69]

According to Barrett, the above-mentioned British Museum piece, if not actually a product of Kāśmīrī craftsmanship is closely dependant on the style of the Avantīvarman period, and may be dated to the second half of the 9th or early 10th century A.D.[70] It is interesting to note here, the fourth head carved in low relief appears to be like a sketch or painting (Fig. 9). This particular tendency is an element of Medieval art of Kāśmīra, which influenced the last phase of Gandhāra proper very much.

Another sculptural style might have flourished simultyneously with that described above. "In the 7th century, the sharp lined modelling," which had been in fashion in the fifth century had given way to a soft almost "muscleless or effaminate treatment of the body."[71] This is well illustrated by the Kārttikeya and Śiva Pārvatī group of sculptures.[72] Though these sculptures like many earlier ones, arefrontal and stunted in appearance, the modelling of the torsos are far better than that of the torsos of Śiva-Pārvatī, described above. As a result the bodies of these divinities betray more smoothness and plasticity in form.

"Of the two pieces in more delicate style a Kārttikeya in the British Museum may first be mentioned (Fig. No. 10). It was collected at Attock. It is of a well-known type, but four armed."[73]

"Kārttikeya stands facing, wearing a dhoti, necklace, bangles and large round ear-rings. He holds a spear and rosary in upper right hand and lower right hand and cock and an indistinguishable object in the upper and lower left hand respectively. There are a devotee and a peacock on the either side of the deity."[74]

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The carving of the body shows innovations. The smooth and fleshy body is well formed, except the feet.

The smooth face is elongated in shape with usual eye-brows, squinting eyes flat nose and large mouth. The sculptures of this age and region tried to delineate the eyes as drooping anf half-drooping. This stylistic feature imparted to the face a lurid expression. The folds of drapery remind us of the arrangement of the apparel of Vishṇu from Taxila.[75]

Finally, there is Śiva Pārvatī group of images in the British Museum.[76] This group depicts Śiva and Pārvatī as seated on Nandī (Fig. 11 pl. XVI). The Śiva is as usual three headed. The central head wears the moon crescent on the curly hair. The proper left head appears to be a female and the proper right head with rolling eyes, portrays the terrible form of Śiva."[77]

"The deity is six-armed. He holds the Kapāla, trident, lotus, a chakra, rosary and a club with a fluted knop in his six hands respectively. Pārvatī is seated by his side, facing him. She carries a lotus in her right hand and perhaps a mirror in her left. She wears a necklace, and a girdle over a long flowing robe looking like a flowing skirt or Indian ghāghrā."[78]

This group betrays persistance of muscleless smooth treatment of the torso of the Kārttikeya, described above. But the modelling of the body shows more maturity. Even the fashioning of the legs are quite natural. The central head of Śiva have the same elongated shape with identical features. Similar elongated facial type has also been found among two Nāga images of Fondukistan.[79] Other two heads resemble the terrible and female heads of Dandan ulique fresco panel.[80] Even the fillet worn by the former one, is similar to that of the latter. Śiva's dhoti is treated in the same manner as that of Kārttikeya.

The figure of Pārvatī (Fig. 11) betrays same sort of modelling. But her facial type is different from the others, and may be called a bloating face with flat nose and portruding eyes. The linear treatment of hair remind us of the identical treatment met with in late Gandhāra sculptures.

As mentioned above, her flowing robe has the appearance of Ghāghrā. The folds of drapery shows continuation of the earlier tendencies. Here it is treated as separate volume which falls gracefully over the feet in pipe like folds. The straight 'pipe' like folds on the garment have remote resemblance to the similar treatment of drapery noticed in early Hellenistic sculptures. But the figure is delineated in such a way that parts of the body is visible beneath the apparel and here the upper part of the body, where the dress clings to the body, is indicated by lines. This stylistic tendency have been found in the late Gandhāra Buddhas. "Her eleborate hair ornaments are found on a similar, but rougher Lakshmī from Kāśmīra."[81]

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Her large round ear-rings recalls the ear-rings of other images already described above. Portraiture of Nandī is natural.

This group is contemporary with the Kārttikeya and may be placed in the same century. Presence of medieval art forms, also found in Fondukistan terracottas indicate a late date for this group of sculptures and may be assigned to the 9th or early 10th century A.D.

It is interesting to note here that Śiva and Bodhisattva figures in Swat Rock carvings has the appearance of painting or sketches which is in low relief.[82] But it retains flowing and gliding contours of the earlier period.

The above survey reveals the continuation of late Gandhāra stylein the field of sculptural activities in Gandhāra which influenced and modified by Iranian, Gupta, and post-Gupta art on the one hand and on the other by early medieval art of Kāśmīra. Another trend, which continued some of the stylistic features of the above-mentioned second group shows post-Gupta effaminate treatment of the body and elongated facial type of medieval art. Thus, the three trends in their last phase of development indicates presence of medieval art forms of Kāśmīra, India and Central Asia.

'C'

Stone Sculptures of Kapiśa

As in Gandhāra, the stone sculptures of Kapiśa in the second phase of development during the 4th to 6th centuries A.D. shows similar developments with a few exceptions. The characteristic trait of proportionate body of the earlier school is absent here. But the figures do not have the same stunted appearance which we find in Gandhāra during this period. Some of the sculptures like Grand Miracle of Sravasti in Paitava[83] (Fig. 12 pl. XVII) and another standing Buddha in Shotorak[84] (Fig. 13 pl. XVII) exhibit the tendencies of frontality and thick set proportions and flattening of the relief. But, here, at least, late Gandhāra modelling of the body and face lasts for a few centuries more. The face is rather full and heavy and the wavy hair is still treated naturalistically. Flames rising from the shoulders reveal its indebtedness to Iran. Arrangement of drapery is schematic and stylized. In comparison to the folds of drapery of stone-sculptures of Gandhāra in the period concerned, it appears to be far better executed and natural. A few donors in Shotorak displays Iranian Costume.

The stone sculptures datable to the period concerned betray persistance of Shotorak and Paitava's stylistic features along with other artistic traits. The figure of a donor in marble from Khair Khaneh[85] clearly reveals the existence of above-mentioned traits of frontality and dis-proportionate treatment not illustrated here.

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The face conforms to the heavy face of late Gandhāra with regular eye-brows, wide open large eyes, straight nose and a smiling expression. The modelling of the torso and arrangement of hair, indicate its indebtedness to the late Gandhāra school. The donor wears a trousar and tunic. Short folds of the dress is indicated by lines which is another characteristic of late Gandhāra sculptures.

Solar-image of Khair Khaneh[86] shows the development of another stylistic element (fig. 14 pl. XVIII). The sun is represented as seated in European fashion on his chariot, which is drawn by horses. Two attendants and Aruṇa accompanying him.

This group exhibits a disproportionate frontal and angular treatment. "The legs and thighs appear to be singularly reduced in dimension if one compares them with the torso and with the head. The head alone presents about one fifth of the ensemble of the body, proportions very decadent (canon of Polyclytus 1/7, and canon of Lysippus 1/8 respectively), corresponding exactly with that of the Great Miracle of the Paitava.[87] The face is heavy and angular with usual nose and lips. But the features are more sharp and as a result loses plasticity and smoothness. A new feature appears in the treatment of the eye and pronouncedly long drawn curved eye-brows. Very much elongated and slightly portruding wide open and half-open eye and long drawn eye-brows are characteristic feature of the Medieval art of India.[88] This element appears to be found also in the above-mentioned mukha-liṅga from Mardan belonging to the school of art prevalent in Gandhāra in 7th to 8th centuries A.D. (Fig. 22 pl. XII). The trouser, tunic, and high boots, suggest heavy Iranian influence. Like the dress of Sasanian kings, the dress of this deity is decorated with a number of pearls. Although drapery retains the earlier treatment as separate volume, but its arrangement in long convex folds over the hands is stylized. Identical treatment of scarf is also met with in the statues of Buddha and attendant figures in the late Gandhāra stone sculptures.[89] Arrangement of attendant figures in converse order and arrangement of legs of the solar icon shows clearly the angular treatment. The half-length figure of Aruṇa well illustrates the smooth fleshy body of post-Gupta art as already discussed above in course of describing the style prevalent in Gandhāra, which came into use in the 7th century A.D.

Scholars assign the marble figure of donor and solar image of Khair Khaneh to early 7th century A.D.[90] On the basis of stylistic features found in this group and also in Gandhāra we may suggest a date about second half of the 7th or early eighth century A.D.

Our only dated icon, an image of Mahāvināyaka,[91] found in an area not far from Kapiśa manifests above-mentioned stylistic trends (Fig. 15 pl. XVIII). An inscription in its pedestal dates it to the reign of Hūṇa-king Khiṅgala (end of 6th century A.D.). This statue made of an inferior quality of marble represents the

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standing figure of an elephant-headed god in 'sama-bhaṅga' pose. The figure is damaged. Here also the same frontal, disproportionate treatment of the figure is noticable. The head is big. The body is heavy and flaby and legs are short and are rendered naturally with bulging muscles. Though slightly angular, the pondorous body and legs are well fashioned. Drapery arranged in small folds and also indicated by lines are two of the common features of late Gandhāra school.

The Gaṇapati icon from Sakar Dhar[92] (Fig. 16, pl. XIX) shows this analogous disproportionate treatment. The body of Sakar Dhar statue is not of pondorous proportions, but slim and smooth, betraying presence of elements belonging to the Gupta art. The frontal pose of the figure is little rigid. The dhoti of the image in question is also indicated by straight and convex lines. Ornaments of the former are noteworthy and are reminiscent of those met with in the Gupta sculptures. From the present photo, we can at least say that the two devotees reveal same sort of modelling. This image can be dated in the end of 6th or early 7th century A.D.

Mahishāsuramardinī Dūrgā icon recovered from Gardez,[93] (Fig. 17, pl. XIX) though damaged, betrays same sort of plasticity in form. The hand of Dūrgā is larger in proportion that the feet, and the torso of the demon so far preserved are smooth and round. The body of the buffallow is natural and well formed. Folds of the dress of the goddess show same linear treatment. The demon has a bloating face. Linear arrangement of the hair suggests persistence of this late Gandhāra stylistic element. This broken image may be assigned to 8th or 9th century A.D.

"Forces which created the last phase of the art of Gandhāra in that province, was also at work here."[94] The Śiva head from Gardez tends to show different element in it[95] (Fig. 18). This fine marble head of Śiva is another example of the persistance of Indian influence just before the great advance of Islam which completely altered the artistic climate. The face of Śiva is skilfully handled of and of definite Indian type. The facial type of Śiva is elongated in form, which recalls the similar types of faces in Fondukistan terracottas and the last group of Śiva-Pārvatī sculptures found in Gandhāra, and described above. The delineation of long drawn half-closed eyes and elongated eye-brows are two of the features of Medieval art of India, as stated above. As referred to earlier, eka-mukha-liṅga from Mardan reveals the presence of these stylistic features as well. The hair is tied by a fillet, studded with precious stones. The top-knot is further adorned by plaits and moon crescent. Elaborate and decorated hair-styles with crowns and caps are quite a common feature of late Gandhāra—both stone and stucco school. But this particular variety is quite unknown and points to its connection with influences outside India. The image in question portrays Śiva as a Yogī and as such it expresses a befitting expression. "A grave thoughtfulness mingles with a sweetly smiling rather mysterious expression while the material imparts an unusual

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softness to the modelling."[96] Barrett places this sculpture in second half of the eighth century A.D.[97]

Unfortunately, we can not trace all the stages in the evolution of sculptural style in Kapiśa for want of evidence. Possibly as a result of Arab inrods sculptural art of this area suffered a setback.

The Scorretti marble representing Dūrgā Mahishāsura-mardinī[98] not illustrated is so much damanged, it cannot be described stylistically. Modelling of the torso of Dūrgā and the body of the buffellow are very crude and clumsy. "The stylistic features of the Śiva torso from Tagab is difficult to judge from available photos." "It looks rather like a copy carefully executed, however, without a real understanding of the basic problem of modelling."[99]

On the whole, the sculptural style of Kapiśa retained late Gandhāra style of disproportionate body linear representation of hair and drapery. This style absorbed Gupta and post-Gupta stylistic elements in the 7th and 8th centuries which is further modified by artistic trends of Medieval India and Central Asia in the following centuries.

'D'

Terracotta and Clay sculptures in Gandhāra and Kapiśa

Terracotta and clay are the most popular medium of artistic expression of common people to whom stone is not always easily available. Terracotta sculptures has been developed side by side stone sculpture from the earliest phase of Gandhāra art in the regions concerned. A large number of terracottas and clay sculptures has been discovered from Taxila,[100] Shar-i-Bahlol,[100a] Takht-i-Bahi,[101] Tepe Marendjan,[102] Fondukistan[103] Tapa Sardar[104] (Ghazni).

Evolution and development of analogous style which is known as Gandhāra, can be traced among the finds from different sites. "Archaic terracottas recovered from Taxila excavation, reveal Indian influence at the earliest stage.[105] Terracottas recovered from Sirkap strata VI-V, shows prevalence of Greek and archaic terracotta figurines side by side.[106] Terracottas belonging to Saka-Parthian and late Saka-Parthian period (stratum III-II) revealed heavy Hellenistic influence.[107] This influence persisted in Buddhist terracottas of Dharmarajika, Kalwan, Mohra Moradu and Jaulian.[108] "In style, they are generally similar to the Buddhist stucco sculptures, but due to greater plasticity of clay as compared with stucco and to the ease with which it can be handled, many of these figurines show a freedom in their modelling and a sensitiveness to form which was never quite attained in stucco work."[109] According to Sir John Marshall, "All these figures belong to Indo-Afghan school of the fourth to fifth century A.D. and comprise several pieces of surpassing merit. The smaller figures were usually of terracotta throughout,

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that is, of clay fired in a kiln. Of the larger figures some were made entirely of sundried clay; in others the head was terracotta, the rest of sundried clay."[110]

"Three fine heads No. 166 and 167 and 178 from Dharmarajika with their broad open features and western type of countenance suggests presence of stronger Hellinistic influence.[111] Another figure of the Buddha in strictly conventional style comes from Mohra Moradu. It is an exceptionally fine piece of modelling and has the advantage of being unusually well preserved."[112] "The shaving head of a monk in Fig. 178 (Pl. 137f.) closely resembles the monks of stucco school. Another type is provided by the deva of 181-b No. 0, Pl. 138.[112a] Terracotta heads No. 165 (pl. 138, b, c), 168 may indicate the later stage of development of terracotta school. These two heads resemble in certain extent the terracotta heads of Ushkhur and Akhnur."[113]

The next stage of development may be represented by the British Museum terracottas, a few of which resembles closely the Akhnur terracottas. D. Barrett published six heads from this group of the six heads, three shows characteristic features of late Gandhāra school.[114] The Buddha head may first be mentioned among these three, because it retains the classical style (Fig. 19, pl. XXI). The face retains the oval shape with straight nose, half-closed eyes, usual mouth and elongated ears. Long-drawn eye-brows are placed a little above eyes which we already noticed in stone sculptures of Gandhāra and Kapiśa in the period concerned. This head bears clear resemblance to a head of Buddha recovered from Taxila (Pl. 159, f. No. 72). But the features of the former are more sharply drawn than the later and as a result loses plasticity. Still it retains a calm-expression.

The second male head may belong to a Bodhisattva. The face conforms to the rather full face of late Gandhāra school with wide open eyes, slightly flattened nose, moustach and fleshy lips (fig. 20 pl. XXI). The eye-brows are long-drawn, and placed a little higher than the Buddha. Hair is arranged in short curls like commas on the head. This is another stylistic element of late Gandhāra school.

The third head is round in shape (fig. 22. pl. XXII). Its eyes are wide open and elongated curved eye-brows are placed a little above the eyes and has usual lips. Hair is indicated by lines and furrows arranged alternately. This variety is also found among stucco school.

The other three reveal Kāśmīrī influence. Of these the first have the same late Gandhāra type of face with half-closed eyes, rather long drawn arching eye-brows flat nose and fleshy lips (Fig. 22, pl. XXII). Hair is parted on in the middle and two parts of the lock folded in the back. The second famale head betrays softer and sensitive modelling of the face of usual type (Fig. 23 pl XXIII). Open eyes are slightly portruding and eye-brows are curved and shorter in proportion

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than the former one. Hair is parted in the middle and is also tied by a fillet or head band of some sort. Two curly locks fall over the forehead.

The third female head is also of usual type (fig. 30). The arrangement of eye-brows joined over the nose and stylistic hair arrangement strikes a new note here.

Thus the six heads from the British Museum betrays persistance of stylistic tendencies of stucco and terracottas of late Gandhāra which is modified in certain extent by medieval artistic trends and also presence of stylistic elements from Kāśmīra. Thirty one heads in similar style of miscellaneous figures has been preserved in the Lahore Museum.

The last phase of terracottas from Gandhāra may be evident in those found in Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. "These were for the most part curiously grinning heads which seem certainly to have been grotesque of all sorts, together with more serious doll like faces."[115]

Thus in the terracottas of Gandhāra, more or less persisted the Hellenistic tendencies of realistic representation of human form and expressive faces. The body whenever, preserved is natural and spontaneous. Dresses, monastic mantle of the Buddha, trousers and tunics, pointed caps of donors, dhoti and shawl of divinities, hair ornaments were rendered naturalistically. Ornaments resemble those of stucco school.

In Kapiśa, terracottas sculptures have been recovered from different sites. Specially, in Tepe Marendjan, Fondukistan and Bamian, terracotta figurines or figures of unbaked clay substitutes the sculptures in schist and ornaments in stucco. Though Bamian falls a little outside Kapiśa, its terracottas reveal similar artistic tendencies like that of Fondukistan and Tepe Marendjan.

"The site of Tepe Marendjan polychrome in the Kabul region disclosed round earthenwere sculptures of 4th-5th century A.D."[116] The figures are "finely proportioned, and show through the closely pleated, transparent material. Jewels, moulded separately, were attached to the Buddha's torso by a technique also encountered in Afghanistan and Ser-india."[117]

The image of Bodhisattva, found in the niche of the west face of the monastery, deserves a very special mention.[118] This statue is entirely painted and appears to be nearly intact except the head which have been detached from the trunk because of a slight falling of the vault of the iniche. "Siddhartha who is the Bodhisattva here represented, is seated in the oriental fashion, his hands joined in meditation. The torso, admirably modelled, is of a very Indian suppleness. The face with eyes half-closed, very elongated, and of very pronounced opthalmia, likewise shows a marked Indianisation. The coiffure was a turban provided with a

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circular median ornament of large dimension which we could compare with those that adorn the coiffure of Siddhartha of the Peshawar Museum brought to light at Sahr-i-Bahlol."[119]

Clay modellings of Fondukistan[120] shows further development of this school, which illustrates presence of different stylistic elements such as Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic, *etc.*

In the niche 'A' can be found clay figures of both the styles.[121] In this niche, "an anatomical peculiarity attracts the attention of the observer, namely a lengthening and a very marked curvature of the torso, this curvature in arch being accentuated by the inclination of the head. Of the specimens representing female personages, the measurement, taken show a marked contrast between the waist and the heaps."[122] Some of these female figures wear costume of Central Asia. "Although veay much damaged, the fragment of this statuette shows the characteristic details *viz.*, an adjusted corset closely fitting the torso upto the base of the breasts, which are covered with a light stuff. Among the fragments brought to light No. 3 clearly bears the impress of Indian influence. It is only distinguished from an Indian image by the short-length of the arms. This specimen, by its elongated torso, its spare waist, its very deep developed hips, shows itself distinctly Indian. Equally Indian is the necklace of pearls passing between the two breasts so as to go round the waist. One of the male figures wears, tied around the torso a sort of scarf resembling the udarabandha of purely Indian statues. It should be noted that the very large and widely opened eyes have hemmed eye-lashes, the exopthalmea being now and then accentuated. Occasionally also the eye-brows are placed very high, such is the case with a Bodhisattva whose hair exhibits by its short waves Hellenistic treatment. The ornaments consists of necklaces medallions, curious bracelets, adorning the upper portion of the arms. These ornaments are provided with pendants and they very distinctly resemble certain motifs of ornamentation in Gupta style."[123]

"Of definite Indian type is another seated Buddha figure which occupied base of the niche 'C'.[124] The Buddha is draped in a monastic mantle covering both shoulders from which flames gushed out, water traversed by very stylized waves treated in low relief, appeared at the base of the pedestal. We find ourselves, in the presence of a representation of the Buddha of the Great Miracle (Yamaka Pratiharya), an iconographic theme frequently found in ancient Kapiśa. On each side of the Great Buddha whose head has not been found, two female figures are seated with inclined head, they have the waist support and the breast covered with light corselet;' a light scarf covers the shoulders. Near the exit of the niche, there were two Buddhas seated in the pose of royal relaxation; the monastic mantle wound so as to leave one shoulder bare; the lower garment, cutting by its blue colour across the red of the monastic mantle, was found fixed against the torso.

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The monastic cloak with regular creased folds adheres to the torso whose elegant model remains very clear. The waist is spare, the chest developed, the upper portion of the body gives an impression of elegance and of grace full of dignity (pl. XXIV, fig. 25). This suppleness recalls the very distinct Gupta and post-Gupta Indian reminiscences in reaction against the heaviness of the last production of the artists of Gandhāra and of Kapiśa (Fig. 25)."[125]

"The decoration of the facade of niche 'D' has completely disappeared. Against the wall from the base of the niche there leaned a large Bodhisattva seated in the posture of royal relaxation on the pedestal depicting a felicitious arrangement of horizontally disposed bricks; under a Bodhi tree, the whole upper-portion of the body has disappeared but the head of the statue has been found among the rubbish which encumbered the entrance of the niche. Of the diadem nothing more survives than a very small circle adorned with an egg-shaped decoration, from which the short meshes and curls of hair escape at regular intervals. The face is covered with gold leaves laid on a red background. The very prominent eye-ball is partly covered by the eye-lids in such a way that the palpebral slit appears very elongated, the outer angle being characterised by a very pointed form. The eye-brows, placed very high, present regular tracing; the nose very slightly snubbed, is large enough, the mouth small, the lips fleshy; the general effect of the mascaron relatively squat and chubby. Reverting to what is left of the statue of a very delicate model, we perceive the left leg, of which the naked feet rest on a lotus, the dhoti delicately envelops the leg of which the elegant curve is visible under the light stuff which is pleated in sinous and subtly arranged folds; the right upraised leg is supported by three super-imposed cushions—a branch of the ficus appears the space comprised between the calf and the haunch. The statue had for its background an aureol fringed with small oval ornaments emphasised by a pearl, each of these elements being surmounted by three pearls. Above the aureol appear the branches and leaves of the ficus, several branches of which the traces are still visible on the wall have detached themselves.[126] Another statue in niche 'D' which inclinins "against the right corner at the junction of the walls (with reference to the principal statue) of the niche 'D', there appeared a secondary seated divinity, the left leg placed under the hanging right leg (fig. 26, pl. XXV).[126a] This representation by the subtleness of its attitude, the grace and elegance of its form, the affectation of its gesture, recalls the post-Gupta Indian antecedents. The ornaments form a remarkable group finely wrought by goldsmith of which the principal decorative motif found in the diadem, the pendentive necklace and the rings on the arms, is composed of a central cabochon above and below which appear the ornaments in 'trefoil' shape, these motifs are fringed by scroll-pattern ornaments of which the curved parts are slightly dented at their terminal parts; this detail resembles a peculiarity, which we shall have occasion to point out while studying the scroll patterns surmounting the entrance of the niche 'D'. The necklaces

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and bracelets are formed of large pearls. The diadem comprises an ornamentation of complex character; the motif with cabochon and scroll pattern is twice repeated there. A large flower with elongated petals resembling a clematis is laid on a double crown of flowers with five engraved petals of rounded form. The second crown placed above the first, encircles a chignon elegantly disposed in the form of a vertically raised shell. The lower crown rests upon a rolled headband and slightly brings back the hair from behind; the diadem appears fixed and supported by a large ribbon which falls sinously behind the head. The black hair with long curls disposed symetrically sprawls out on the shoulder; two meshes diverged towards the chest. The statue, when extricated, was in a state of remarkable freshness. The tint of extreme whiteness formed a thin pellicle laid upon a reddish plaster. The very large eyes with the pupils surrounded with black, give the whole work a surprising appearance of life. The highly raised and very divergent eyebrows are also black; the nose large and slightly flattened. The colours including the blue bands of the dhoti are placed layer by layer so as to leave behind only the basic reddish colour fig. 26. pl. XXV. Another devatā (Fig. 27 pl. XXV) of the same type as that which we have just described, was placed in the left wall corner of the niche obviously of the same height as the devatas there appeared fixed against the lateral right and left walls of this same niche but partially destroyed, a few Buddhas seated upon the lotus (Fig. 28) pl. XXVI; on the right a Buddha of classical type whose torso having for its background an aureol bordered with stylized flames was found broken at the feet of the central Bodhisattva; on the left an ornamental Buddha, the upper part of whose body was intact, while the face was mutilated. This Buddha partly concealing the saṅghāti wore a sort of hood with three points of blue colour and adorned with square and round cabochons, these last are encircled with pearls and provided with a pendant resembling those which appeared to be attached to the necklace and the border of the hood."[127] It should be noted the hood with three points is not peculiar to Fondukistan; a fragments of a statue in stucco at Hadda exhibits a garment of the same kind."[128] Buddha at the vault of Cave I wears same type of dress and ornaments.[129]

"The two Buddhas, to which we just alluded while passing in review the objects brought to light in niche 'D', were placed upon the lotus. The stalk which support the lotus plunge into a small basin from which two Nāga kings rise into view. The upper part of the body alone emerges; it would seem that we are confronted with a representation of a purely anthropomorphic character. Lightly bent, they lean on their elbows against the upraised border of the basin. The height and the base of the torso appear to prolong by their quasi-reptilean subtleness, the zoomorphic portion of these human serpents which is concealed. The physical type is singular; the elongated face with very convexed front resembles, however, the physical aspects of the devatas and the Buddha we have already studied. The hair arranged into a chignon is repeated by short waves. In the hair there appears a serpent with

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body marked by circles. The jewels resemble the ornaments worn by the devatas. One of the two Nāga kings on the left lateral wall is destroyed. Towards the summit of the vault of same niche 'D' there appeared still fixed against the vault but very much damaged (as the head has been broken), the statue of a male personage; the lower part of the body is uncovered; a waist band adorned with a row of pearls, emphasises the lower part of the abdomen. A curious vestment in the form of a breast plate covers a portion of the abdomen."[130]

"The excavation of the niche 'E' led to the discovery of two statues, placed against the same base of the niche. We have here two figures, a man and a woman (fig. 29, pl. XXVII), separated by a pile of four cushions upon which they are leaning. The heads have disappeared; the down-turned right leg of a male is in the vertical position, while the left leg rests horizontally in a flat position; the torso remains erect in such a way that the figure avoiding the fatigue which such a position could not fail to cause, has to rest a portion of the weight of the torso upon his elbow sustained by the pile of cushions."[131] This posture was also affected by certain Sasanid kings; "a piece of goldsmith's work furnishes us with a characteristic illustration of an analogus scene exhibiting likewise a pile of cushions, six for the king, two only for the queen; who is found on his right. The king wears high boots, the vestment is a long and well adjusted tunic opened at the chest and provided with a large tight collar. The tunic was ornamented with circular medallions fringed with a row of large pearls. Inside the meddalions are inscribed scarcely visible motifs of birds and human mascarons. The whole of this decoration accords with the distinctly Iranian costume. A waist band made of cabchons encircled with pearls covers the figures with particular lightness. The torso which widens itself appears extremely stretched out. The trousars are slightly folded. The tunic worn by the princely figure of Fondukistan resembles through the style of vestment of the kneeling personages, the bearer of a plate of offerings represented at the end of the left lateral wall which sheltered the Buddha of 53 metres (at Bamian)....."[132] The female figure with harmonious forms, thin waist, round shoulders, opulated chest, is closely Indian in aspect; the examination of the ornaments enforces this first impression. These are the necklaces of pearls which is joined by a long chain of pearls to which again are fixed on the outer side, the circular cabchons surrounded with pearls. The bracelets, double at the wrist, are composed of pearls. A light scarf covers the shoulder. The lower part of the body is draped in a dhoti. The torso appears to be nude."[133]

Thus, the clay modellings of Fondukistan on the whole presents a style which retains much of the Gupta and late Gupta styles. Fondukistan's peculiarity is noticed in elongated curvature of the body and treatment of eyes and eye-brows. Side by side, Iranian influence can be noticed.

"This same style persisted in Bamian, often both Sasanid and Indian style can be seen in one group or even in a single figure; more or less distinct, they retain

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their character despite the modifications that make the art of Bamian so individual."[134]

E

Bronze Sculptures in Gandhāra and Kapiśa

The art of bronze casting was well-known in North-Western India from very ancient times.[135] Bronze was used for various purposes such as for making pots, pans, utensils, needles, goblets, instruments, *etc.*, and for modelling statues of gods and goddesses. Here we are mainly concerned only with bronze images of which a limited number survived upto this day.

Among these icons, those belonging to the first formative period (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), recovered from Taxila, show overwhelming influence of Hellinistic style.[136] Most of them were imported from the West.[137] A few reveals cruder workmanship which might be the manufacture of local craftsman.[138]

The Bronze sculpture from 1st to 5th century A.D. were not well represented.

Bronze images related to our period and zone may be divided into two groups, *viz.*, those of (1) Sahr-i-Bahlol and other connected pieces;[139] and those of (2) Swat group.[140] The second group may be further sub-divided into two sections on stylistic grounds. These were apparently made following 'cire perdu' process.

We may first consider sculptures of the Sahr-i-Bahlol group which belong together stylistically and by provenance. They are the Buddhas in the Pierre Jeanneret collection,[141] in the Victoria and Albert Museum[142] (Fig. 31, pl. XXVIII) and in the Metropolitan Museum[143] (fig. 30, pl. XXVIII). All these three pieces depict the Buddha in standing posture. His right hand is in abhaya-mudrā and his left holds a fold of the outer garment and making the gesture of doing so. Each pieces has an elaborate halo and vesicca secured to the figure by a lug behind the head or between the shoulder. The Victoria and Albert has also a spike at the top of the halo and retains its throne. These three bronzes betray the presence of stylistic elements of late Gandhāra school and the terracotta style of 7th-8th century A.D.

Of this group we may describe at first the standing Buddha figure in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 31). This image clearly betrays the persistance of late Gandhāra tendencies of the earlier period. The face is oval with half-closed eyes, small mouth and slightly flattened nose. The body is well-fashioned. His monastic mantle covers both the shoulders. Drapery is arranged symmetrically in long and short concave folds.

The Buddha figure from Jeannert collection bears clear affinity to this figure and may be placed in the same period about 7th century A.D.

The Buddha statue in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows further

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development of this style (fig. 30). Here the face is rather full with plumpy cheeks, arching eye-brows, open eyes, straight nose and small mouth. This treatment of fleshy full face with plumpy cheeks may be found in stucco school and also in the terracottas of this area and Ushkhur and Akhnur in 7th, 8th centuries A.D. Hair is rendered naturalistically. Here also the saṅghāti covers both shoulders. The treatment of beautifully modelled and fluid drapery reminds us some of the finest Gandhāra stone sculptures.

As already stated above, "the most remarkable feature of these bronzes, is the combined halo and vesica and its decorated treatment." Simple nimbus forms one of the important decorative device of Gandhāra statues from a long period.[144] It is quite common among the late Gandhāra pieces of 4th-5th century A.D.[145] Halo and vesicca together appears to be painted around stucco Buddha images at Hadda,[146] "and aureol and vesicca together on the stucco Buddha which decorated the Kanishka stupa at Shah-ji-ki-dheri."[147] Both of these places were well-known and flourished over a long period at least upto 9th century A.D. The stucco Buddha statues of Shah-ji-ki-dheri, may belong to the time of rebuilding of the stupa reported by Hsüan-tsang.

"However, the most significant parallels for the combined halo and vesicca on the bronzes are to be found at Bamian."[148] The Jeannerat and Metropolitan bronzes depict an oval motif surrounding the nimbus and vessicca which has three pearls on the outer edge and one in the centre of the inner edge.[150] Victoria and Albert piece has one pearl on the outer edge and two on the inner.[151] Even, around the standing and seated Buddha figures at grotto I, this combined decorative motif with pearled ornament can be met with.[152] Hackin dates grotted I between 6th and first half of the 7th century A.D.[153] According to him, 'the group to which it belongs near the 53 meter Buddha, is certainly the latest at Bamian and work may have continued there into the 8th century A.D.'[154]

One of the notable feature of Victoria and Albert bronze is its throne. It is quite different from that of the stone sculptures.[155] It is typical Kāśmīra throne found in bronze and steatite figures from 8th century onwards.[156]

These pieces have been variously dated. Bucthal assigns the Victoria and Albert bronze to 4th-5th century A.D.[157] B. Rowland describes it as Nalanda copy and he, therefore, places it in eighth century or later.[158] The Jeannerat piece was dated to the 3rd-4th century A.D. by the Cataloguer of the objects shown in the exhibition organised by the Royal Academy in 1947-48.[159] In the opinion of D. Barrett, these three Buddha images belong to a much later period.[160] Taking into account its stylistic features,—the combined halo and vesica together—a device noticed in the images of Hadda, Shah-je-ki-dheri and Bamian he proposes a 7th century date.[161] As already referred to above, the Metropolitan bronze sculpture and the Jeannerat piece may be placed on the 7th century A.D. But the Victoria

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and Albert piece shows further development and therefore, may be assigned to the 8th century A.D.

Another bronze icon of standing Buddha, preserved in the British Museum,[162] reveals further degeneration of above-mentioned style.

The figure is squat and heavy with flaby face and regular features. The drapery is drier in treatment than those of the Sahr-i-Bahlol group. Sir A. Cunningham made a gift of bronze Buddha head to the British Museum, which had been recovered from Manikiyala.[163] This Buddha head is similar in style and may belong to the school of art prevalent in Gandhāra in the 7th-8th century A.D.

Next series of bronzes, relating to the zone and period concerned are represented by Swat group of Bodhisattva and Buddha statues.[164] Louis Clark and Simon Digby presented all these pieces to the British Museum.[165] As already stated earlier, they may be again sub-divided into two sections—the first being the seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and the second group is the crowned Buddha and Bodhisattvas with a round shaped face.

The Buddha and Bodhisattva icons, though a few retains well-proportioned bodies, betray persistance of earlier style, illustrating the same heavy and squat form, round or squarish face, wide open eyes, symetrically arranged drapery indicated by parallel lines and folds, which are drier in treatment than the Metropolitan and Victoria and Albert bronzes. Lion thrones reveal further degeneration. The eyes of these Buddha images belonging to both these groups are inlaid with silver.

"The first of this series is a seated Buddha purchased from a Peshawar dealer early in this century[166] (fig. 32). "It was then said to have been dug up in Helmund river."[167] The Buddha is depicted here in a meditative mood, while he holds as usual the folds of his garments with left hand and right hand is in varada-mudrā." The posture of his left hand is peculiar. Instead of downwards posture the palm and the figures are raised upwards in a manner not met with in the bronzes of Shar-i-Bahlol group. "From the Ushṇīsha emerges a curious five pointed flame."[168] "The eyes and ūrṇā are inlaid with silver."

"The most remarkable feature, however, is the lion throne. This throne rests on two lions at the front and on dwarf pilasters at the back. Unlike lion-thrones of Kāśmīra bronzes and steatite figures where frontal portions of the lions are depicted, complete bodies of the lions are portrayed here. The throne is covered by a kind of textile with two large tassels at either end on the front. This fabric is hanging between the two lions and also fringed by small tassels. Thus, a roughly rectangular field is formed between the upper end of the throne and the lotus." "This rectangular field is decorated with incised voluted ornaments. This assemblege is placed on a well-modelled smooth-petalled double lotus, on the front of which are two seated deers facing a frontal wheel on a pedestal. There are a

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projection between shoulders and two holes in the back of the throne for the reception of the back-plate."[169]

The body is well-proportioned and well-modelled with late Gandhāra full face, open eyes and broad chin. The face retains a smiling expression. The folds of the robe which covers both the shoulders are symetrically arranged. Figures of lion and deers are well-fashioned and smooth-petalled double lotus is neatly depicted. The process of inlaying of the eyes with silver is different from those generally prevalent here. This image resembles closely the bronze sculptures of Eastern India.

Next piece, a cruder bronze (Fig. 33, pl. XXIX) in similar style may be associated with the above-mentioned image.[170] This is another statue of Buddha in seated posture with a back-plate, which is fastened by a lug between the shoulders.' "This back-plate seems to be original and has been clumsily recut." "The position of the hands is as on the British Museum bronze, but coarsely cut folds of the robe are symetrically arranged over the chest. The throne is again supported by lions, but only the protoms are represented. The large tassels are hanging on either end. The shallow rectangular recess between the lions is bordered on the top and bottom by five small knobs, the lower range during vestigial remains of the small tasselled fringe. Below is a single row of smooth lotus petals and again a row of projecting knobs above the final rectangular moulding of the pedestal."[171]

The squat and heavy figure is crudely modelled. This is almost round and has a broad chin. Its eyes are open and nose is flat. As already mentioned above, the coarsely cut folds are arranged in parallel lines over the chest. The lion protomes are roughly fashioned.

Closely related to this group "is a very fine Bodhisattva in the British Museum (fig. 34, pl. XXX), also the gift of Louise Clarke and said to have been dug up from the Helmund."[172] The Bodhisattva is represented in the meditative attitude, wearing dhoti, armlets, bangles, ear-rings, necklace and crown. He holds Kamaṇḍalu in his left and his right hand is in Varadā. The figure sits in a familiar type of lion-throne and Knobs of Lararge and small tassells are grouped round the rectangular field between the lions which are plain, 'forming a hollow box beneath the figure.' "There is a whole in the back of the throne and a pierced lug between the shoulders of the figure for a backplate." Below the throne is usual double lotus, "which is decorated on three sides" by angular cutting to represent mountains. "The figure wears an elaborate crown with two high triangular projections at the sides and a smaller one at the front with a curving bridge of metal to the central position. The crown has two hanging tapes (kusti) at the back, the bows of which project at the sides—only the proper left bow survives. Above the right ear a flower is stuck in the hair. A scarf is worn accross the shoulders, drawn over the forearms and falls behind. The eyes are inlaid with silver."[173]

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This figure shows balanced modelling of the body. The face reveals identical treatment of the just mentioned figure (see fig. 32, pl. XXIX). The ornaments and crowns, arrangement of fillet and scarf, use of flower over the hair and hanging bows of the fillet indicates its indebtedness to Iranian and Kāśmīra styles.

The crowned Buddha from Charbagh in Swat Valley is similar in style[174] (fig. 35, Pl. XXX). The treatment of the lion protomes of the lion-throne and smooth petalled double lotus are identical with a number of pieces recovered from Charbagh.[175]

"Perhaps the finest bronze in this group is the rare type of four-headed Hayagrīva in the City Art Museum, St. Louise[176] (fig. 36, pl. XXXI). Eyes of all three heads and horses head are inlaid with silver. In the headdress is a seated Buddha presumably Akshobhya. The deity is four-armed, the upper left hand holding a Kamaṇḍalu, the lower left a lotus, the upper right a vajra and the lower right is in varadā-mudrā."[177] The typical throne placed on a double lotus stands on a base cast to represent mountains.

The image in question is well fashioned. Its faces are oval-shaped except the horse-head and front-face which are almost square wide open staring eyes, broad chin, and nose. The deity wears only a short garment which might be a dhoti. The crown and ornaments betray same sort of intermingling of Iranian and Kāśmīrī influences described above. The image in question may be compared with the Śiva bust from Chatrāhi.[178]

Another four-armed statue of Buddha is in Metropolitan Museum of Art[179] (Fig. 37, pl. XXXI). This sculpture is dressed either in a printed śārī or in a piece of garment decorated with jewels. The upper part of his body is bare. He holds a lotus in his lower left hand and opens its petals with his right hand. In his upper right and left hands, he has a bow and an arrow respectively. The icon is depicted seated on 'paryaṅka āsana,' placed on usual lotus which is placed on a throne covered with large tasselled textiles. The throne is supported by pillars. The Bodhisattva wears crowns and ornaments. This piece is characterised by similar trends like those of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures described above and betrays its affinity to the style which is amulgum of late Gandhāra, Iranian and Kāśmīra styles.

Another bronze Bodhisattva from the British Museum, a gift of Louis Clarke, which is said to have been recovered from the Helmund river, is stylistically related to the former icon[180] (fig. 38, pl. XXXII). "The Bodhisattva's right hand is in 'abhayamudrā," and in his left hand he has Kamaṇḍalu. A flower adorns his hair over the right ear and the ribbons from the crown are flying over the shoulders. "There appears to be a stupa in the heavily corroded crown. The throne is supported by open-work pattern of joined rosetts."[180a] The figure is heavily

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corroded. The stylistic features so far discernable in coroded state are like the former group. The stup in the crown and the throne supported by rossette strike a new note here.

Mention should also be made in this context a fine bronze Bodhisattva, formerly in the Berlin Museum and illustrated by Grunwedel[181] (fig. 39). The piece has been missing since the second world war. This is a standing figure of Bodhisattva.[182] He wears a printed dress or an apparel decorated with jari work and jewels (stabrak) along with 'snake-yajoñopovita,' necklace long wreath, bangles, armelets, ear-rings, crown, fillet with its flowing end. A Kamaṇḍalu and a rosary adorn his left and right hand respectively. There seems to be a stupa in the crown. Eyes, ūrṇā, and lips, garment of this icon are inlaid with silver and copper. Though the figure is rather short in stature, it is well proportioned and illustrated the above-mentioned characteristics of the Swat group. The dress material of this statue resembles closely the Śārī found in some of the Pāla sculptures now preserved in the Indian Museum.[183]

Another bronze statue is found in the village Alamdin near the town of Franze in the Khirghis Socialist Soviet Republic.[184] It is a crowned Buddha in dhyāna-āsana, seated on a lion throne (pl. XXXIII, fig. 40). The icon's dress consists of the robe, necklace, ear-rings, crown with kusti. The eyes and ūrṇā are inlaid with silver. The throne, on the left of which is a kneeling devotie, is an interesting variant of the type "which occurs frequently in this group. It is supported at the four corners by dwarf pillars. Between the two front pillars are the protomes of two lions separated by a small tasselled piece of cloth which falls in a tongue."[185] Dr. D.C. Sircar places this statue in the 10th century A.D.[186]

This sculpture is characterised by the same stylistic elements described above. The drapery shows similar linear treatment. Ornaments of this statue closely resembles the ornaments of above-mentioned figures. The headdress which only differs from the above-mentioned group is a flat jewelled cap like that found in stone Kārttikeya of Taxila.[187] The throne bears an inscription.

This second sub-group slightly differs from the first sub-group in style. Its facial type is round and its treatment of the eye differentiates it from the former group, while earlier group has wide open eyes, eyes of this group are only indicated by slanting slits. Similar treatment has been found in some of the stone sculptures of Gandhāra and Swat of the earlier period.[188] The saṅghāti covers both shoulders. This is suggested by parallel lines and folds and shows an indifferent treatment. This type of treatment is illustrated by the statue found in a lake in Swiden,[189] (Fig. 40, pl. XXXIII) and "two female Bodhisattvas belonging to the North-Western Frontier Province."[190]

The apparel of the female Bodhisattva is a flowing robe, whose folds can be seen discernable near bosom and legs. This Hellenistic garment worn by the pot

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stone Pārvatī and later group of Gandhāra stone sculptures which betrays presence of Gupta idiom. Ornaments are similar to the former group of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas mentioned above. But the modelling of two female Bodhisattvas, shows crudeness. Unlike the other statues of this area are not so well-fashioned.

From the above discussion we can conclude that bronzes of these areas follow closely the stylistic evolution of stone and terracotta sculptures. The bronzes of Sahr-i-Bahlol group show development of late Gandhāra tendencies with which Gupta and Kāśmīra idioms are blended. The plumpy cheeks and doll like appearances of the images of this group recall the Ushkhur and Akhnur terracottas and their halo and vessica suggest their indebtedness to Bamian.

The second group closely follow the late Gandhāra modelling of torso and head.

Side by side stone, stucco, terracotta, and bronze, wood were also used for sculptural purposes in the regions concerned. Only two relief sculptures survived upto this day. These "were discovered long ago in a cave in the Yusufzai territory near Khybar Pass by Jas Burgess as early as 1871."[191] The two wooden reliefs are carved in deodar wood and are "framed by a trifoilated arch, especially common in the medieval art of Kāśmīra. "They depict two scenes related to Saivism." "But the theme of these reliefs were unknown in Kāśmīra," rare in North India but quite well-known in the Deccan" in the period concerned.[192]

One of them "may represent the evening dance of Śiva in the Himālaya accompanied by a chorus of gods. (See Fig. 41, pl. XXXIV) The other may refer to Devadāruvana (Tārakavana) legend, (Fig. 42, pl. XXXIV) which tells how Śiva in the disguise of a mendicant, seduced the wives of the rishis and was thereupon cursed by those latter to lose his liṅga."[193]

In Goetz's opinion, "their style differs from whatever, we know of Kāśmīra or Indian sculptures, though the emaciated bodies of the chief protagonists evoke a distant memory with certain Buddha statues of the 2nd century A.D. from Gandhāra."[194] According to him, physical features of Śiva such as elongated oval skull, the big rhombic eyeholes, the deeply incised lines around nose and mouth betray presence of Byzantine style.[195] "The heads of the brahmachārī or the heavenly musicians strongly remind those of younger monks, government officials or even empress in Byzantine mosaics and ivory diptychs. The hair arrangement in fringes on the forehead, was a very common fashion in early christian and Byzantian times; the hair hanging down in the centre of the forehead—as in the figure of the dancing Śiva—was in fashion in the Byzantine army. The special posture both of Śiva and Brahmachārī recur in the small figures of circus attendants at the bottom of the consular ivories."[196]

Goetz also noticed the attendant musicians (of the dancing Śiva relief)

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resemblance to Chinese art and concluded that these two were handy works of Nestorian christian residents of Central Asia.[197]

However, it appears from the above mentioned study of the terracottas of Fondukistan, and two stone sculptures of Kārttikeya and Śiva Pārvatī in the British Museum, elongated type of face is quite well known in 8th-9th centuries A.D. in the regions concerned. Goetz assigned it to the reign period of Lalliya, who was contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman.

So, the above survey of stone, terracotta, clay, bronze and wooden sculptures, reveal a style which in its essential was of a late Gandhāra origin. This style assimilated Gupta, Iranian, Kāśmīrī, Central Asian and Byzantine stulistic features and was modified by local elements. The stone sculptures of Kapiśa and Gandhāra show evolution of two variants of the same style.

Notes and References

1. From excavations and explorations carried on at Taxila, Shai-khan Dheri, Takht-i-Bahi, Sahr-i-Balhol, Palutudheri, Gajdheri, Charsada, Swat, Butkhara, Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, are recovered large number of stone, stucco and terracotta sculptures belonging to different periods including those of pre-christian era. See *Taxila*, Vol. I, Chapter 3, pp. 108-111, Chapter 4, pp. 116-130, 130-213, Chapter 8, pp. 217-397; II, Terracotta and Clay objects, Chapter 24, pp. 439-473, Stone objects: Trays, XVV, XV; Toilet Caskets, pp. 493-498; III, Pl. 132, No. 9.

   "Another stratum dating from the Greek period has been unearthed at Shaikhan Dheri at Charsada, the location of the ancient Pushkalāvatī to the north of Peshawar. The only indigneous types discovered here are numerous hand modelled Earth Goddess figurines. But one significant figure is of a naked cupid cradling a bird in its left arm. This figure is double-moulded, and is purely Hellenistic in artistic features. As in Sirkap, this demonstrates the existence of a non-Iranized Hellenistic art in Gandhāra, and the co-existence of styles of art with no movement of influence from one to the other."—K.W. Dobbins, *The Stupa and Vihāra of Kanishka*, I, p. 59.
2. *Taxila*, Vol. I, II, III; *ASIAR*, Vol. II, 1862-65, pp. 1-75, Vol. V, 1872-73, pp. 1-79, 1902-08, Pt. I, Excavations at Charsada, pp. 141-180; 1906-07, Excavations at Sahr-i-Bahlol, pp. 102-117; 141-180; 1907-08, Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi, pp. 132-146; 1908-09, Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, pp. 38-57; 1909-10, Excavations at Sahr-i-Bahlol, pp. 46-62; 1910-11, Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, pp. 25-32; Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi, pp. 33-39; 1911-12, Excavations at Sahr-i-Bahlol, pp. 95ff.; 1921-22, Exploration of Jamalgarhi, pp. 57-66; 1923-24, Exploration of Hund, pp. 68-70; J.J. Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda*, Paris, 1930, *Catalogue & Album*; J. Hackin, & J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches Archaeologiques a Bamian*, Paris, 1933; G. Tucci, "Preliminary report on an archaeological Survey in Swat," *E.W.* N.S., Vol. 9—No. 4, December 1958, pp. 279-348; D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkhara I (Swat, Pakistan)*, Pt. 2, Plates I—CCCXXXV; Photographs by F. Bonardi and Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddie, Rome, 1962; M. Hallade, *The Gandhara style, And the Evolution af Buddhist Art*, Pls. 85, 86, 90, 97, 102, 115.
3. Hallede, p. 3.

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4. *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 104-110.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 118-128.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 130-178, 202-203; *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. VIII, Col. 4; Hallade, op. cit., p. 7.
7. *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. VIII, Cols. 277-283; R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sasanian Dynasties*, pp. 247-286 (Figs. 130-138).
8. Hallade, op. cit., pp. 3, 51-69.
9. K.W. Dobbins, *Stupa and Vihāra of Kanishka*, I, p. 55.
10. Mario Bussagali, 'Gandhāra,' *Encyclopaedia of World Art* (New York, 1962), Vol. VI. Col. 20 :
    This point is well-illustrated by the large number of sculptures, referred to in note 2 above.
11. *Taxila*, Vol. III, pl. 214, Nos. 22, 23, 24; pl. 216, Nos. 62, 67, 72, 73; pl. 217, Nos. 76, 90, 93; pl. 218, Nos. 92; pl. 219, Nos. 104, 105; 110, 113; pl. 220, Nos. 114, 117, 118; pl. 221, Nos. 121, 124, 129, 125; pl. 222, Nos. 132, 133, 135.
12. *Ibid.*, pl. 55; see fig. p.
13. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 71; *Shotorak*, Fragments of a stele representing the Dīpankara Jātaka, Green Schist, L. 36 C.M., Kabul Museum, pl. 72. Shotorak, Detail of the Dīpankara Jātaka, Green Schist, L. 36 G.M. Kabul Museum.
14. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 73, p. 101.
15. The images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya recovered from the regions concerned gives ample testimony to this fact. *ASIAR*, 1934-35, pl. VIII, f. 35-36, pl. XL, fig. a.
16. Hallade, op. cit., p. 80.
17. *Ibid.*, Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya from Taxila, *ASIAR*, 1934-35, pl. VIII, fig. f; 1935-36, pl. XL, fig. a.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 74, pl. 109, 110.
21. See *ASIR*, 1934-35, pl. VIII, fig. f; 1935-36, pl. XL, fig. a; Afrido Dheri Image, f. 1.

21a. *Ibid.*

22. D. Barrett, "The Sculptures of the Shahi Period," *O.A.*, N.S., 1957, p. 55, fig. 2. See Fig. 1, pl. XI.
23. A. Cunningham, Shar-i-Bahlol, *ASIAR*, Vol. V, 1872-73, p. 45; Taddie," An Ekamukhalinga from the N.W.F.P. and some connected problems, A Study in Iconography and Style," *E.W.N.S.*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1962, pp. 288-300.
24. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 58-59, fig. 10; see also Shoshin Kuwayama," The Turki Shahis and Relevant Sculptures in Afghanistan," *E. & W.N.S.*, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4, 1976, pp. 375-405, fig. 1-27.
25. As on note 22 above, see Fig. No. 1. pl. XI.
26. *Ibid.*
27. H. Ingholt, *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan*, fig. 340-341, 342, 343, 400; Taddie, op. cit., f. 5 and 4.
28. *Ibid.*, *Taxila*, Vol. III, pl. 158, No. 59.
29. Ingholt, op. cit., fig. 501; Barthoux, op. cit., Album, *Taxila*, pl. 137, No. 187, pl. 44a, pl. 68, f; pl. 74, c, pl. 75, d, f.
30. See note 22, p. 56.
31. See Note 23, pp. 45, XII, fig. 6. (not illustrated here).
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Ingholt, op. cit., fig. 228.

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35. As on note 31 above.
36. *The Classical Age*, pl. XXI, fig. 48.
37. Hackin, *Khair Khaneh*, Solar image; Hallade, op. cit., Pl. 158.
38. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, Bombay, 1924, 737.4, p. 275. Sa. pl. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9; pl. III, 45, 46, 51, 57; pl. IV, 65, 76, 79, 81; pl. V, 90.99; pl. VII, 134, 137; pl. IX, 194, 202; A.U. Pope & Ph. Ackermann, Oxford, 1938, pl. 156a, 157, 156b, 162.
39. Taddie, "An Ekamukhalinga from N.W.F.P. and some connected problems; A Study in Econography and Style," *E. & W.N.S.*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, December 1962, pp. 288-310.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
41. *Ibid.*, See Figs. No. 2, 3; pl. XII :
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, p. 289, see fig. 3.
44. Stucco images and terracotta illustrating this point. See Burthoux, op. cit., pl. 51, figs. a, b, d; pl. 53, b, 55, a; pl. 56, a, b, pl. 72, b; pl. 75, a, b, d, f; pl. 79, a, c, d; pl. 81, a, c; pl. 82, e; pl. 84, c, e; pl. 85, a; Hackin, "Buddhist Monastry of Fondukistan," *JGIS*, Vol. VII, 1940, pp. 1-85; see Description of Niche 'D', Fig. 14; see also Taddie, op. cit., figs. 5, 8, 10.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 288; See Figs. 3, 4, 5.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-394, fig. 14.
47a. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
47b. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
48. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII, No. 10.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
50. As on note 24 above, see fig. 6. pl. XIV.
51. As on note 17 above. See fig. 6. pl. XIV.
52. See note 15 above.
53. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 71.
54. *Ibid.*, pl. 72.
55. *ASIAR*, 1934-35, pl. VIII, fig. f.
56. See note 22, p. 57, fig. 6 and also see fig. 7. pl. XIV.
57. See note 22 above, p. 59.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56, figs. 1a, 1b.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 58, fig. 9; see fig. 7.
60. H. Goetz, "The Medieval Sculpture of Kashmir," *Marg.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 65ff. fig. 4.
61. Hallade, op. cit., p. 83, pl. 60.
62. Dr. Charles Fabri, "Akhnur Terra-cottas," *Marg.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 53-64; fig. 3, 14a, 17, fig. 13, fig. 12, Hallade, op. cit., p. 153, pl. 121.
63. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythian*, pl. VII, fig. 10.
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166. *Ibid.*, fig. 32.
167. *Ibid.*
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172. *Ibid.*, p. 39, fig. 34.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*, p. 37. See fig. 35.
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176. *Ibid.*, p. 39, see fig. 36.
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CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

The above survey of the regions of Kapiśa (*i.e.* Begram and its neighbouring areas to the south or south-east of the Hindukush and up to Leghman in Kafiristan, modern North-Eastern Afghanistan) and Gandhāra (*i.e.*, the Peshawar district and perhaps also the Rawalpindi district of modern Pakistan) and the territory lying between these two areas reveals some important aspects of their cultural history.

The society under the rule of the Turkish and Hindu Shahis included a large number of foreigners. In fact, waves of imigrants merged in the sea of regional population throughout the period as in the earlier ages. Nevertheless, the broad traditional structure of the society was not altogether discarded. The fourfold caste system was known. People belonging to different castes were perhaps expected to follow traditional vocations. However, there were instances of persons of one caste taking up vocations assigned to members of other castes. Thus, a Brahmana could have sometimes taken to the practice of tilling a field, a work not traditionally assigned to a member of his caste. The occupations of the Vaisyas and the Śūdras were easily interchangable. Presence of a large number of people of foreign origin and even of a number of Muslims in the later phase of our period were perhaps responsible for loosening the rigidity of the caste system in the areas concerned. For their unorthodox outlook, the people of these areas were looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox population of the interior parts of India from an age even much earlier than that of our period.

People of different ethnic and religious affiliations lived in harmony due to the general unorthodox religious and social environments. The followers of Islam, who unlike earlier imigrants were never merged with the Brahmanical society, lived at least for some time amicably with local population after some initial conflicts. With the assertion of political power of Islam the situation changed. Large scale massacre, looting and destruction of cities and temples, and capture of men and women by the Islamic power changed the liberal approach to religion among local population. The society of the areas concerned reacted sharply against the onslaught of Islam and closed its door to the foreigners both Muslim and non-muslims. Al-beruṇi

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noted that any contact with foreigners through sitting, eating or drinking together was forbidden. Even any contact with anything that touched the fire or water used by the foreigners was prohibited.

Very little is known about the marriage rites practiced in the regions concerned. Hsüan-tsang's statement suggests that eight forms of Brahmanical marriage were prevalent. Inter-caste marriages were also known. Presence of foreigners suggests the plausibility of the practice by them at least of marriage customs pertaining to their faiths.

The women of the areas concerned, generally were dependant on the male members of the society. Chastity and devotion to one's husband were some of the qualities highly prized there. There is no evidence of the prevalence of "purdah" system. A few queens, like their counterparts in other areas of India, issued charters in their own name, recording erection of temples dedicated for religious purposes. Even an ordinary lady, called Ratnamañjarī, erected Śiva temple in the reign of Vijayapāla. Sometimes women rose to fame and eminence. Poetess Rusā's work was translated into Arabic in the court of the Abbasid Caliphs. However, in the later part of the period concerned, the position of women was worsened. There were also cases of abduction of women, who were sold as slaves.

The food used by the people of the areas concerned included a few items which were not very popular in the interior areas of India. Among these, were various meat, preparations with garlic or onion, and wine, *etc.* Their addiction to wine was again and again censured by the people of Mid-India. Regarding the dinner etiquette, Al-beruṇī said that the Brahmanas did not favour the practice of taking meal from the same plate by several persons at the same time.

The dress of the people (men and women) of the regions concerned consisted of trousers and tunics (short and long sleeved), made of wool and serge in colder climate and cotton in the area of milder climate. Women also used sari and blouse (Kañchutī). The use of a long flowing garment like ghāghrā was also not unknown. High boots and other types of foot wear were used. Both men and women used to keep long hair which was arranged into different varieties of coiffure and hairdo. The hair was further adorned with turbans, crowns, tiaras, crest jewels, kusti and flowers. Both male and female members of the society were very fond of ornaments like bangles, armlets, round-earrings, finger rings, pearl-necklaces. Use of flowers was also popular.

The people of the regions under consideration were very fond of music and dancing from an early period. This is apparent from references to the name Gandhāra, as one of the seven svaras of Indian music, and also references to *Gāndhāragrāma* and *Gāndhāra mārga*, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁsa*, Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and others.

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The education system was generally similar to that of Mid-India. Both the *guru-kula* and monastic systems of teaching were in vogue. Study and teaching of different sciences like medicine, arithmetic, astronomy, *etc.*, besides the sacred scriptures of the Buddhists and Brahmanas, were practised. Sālatura, the birth-place of Pāṇiṇī was one such centres of the Gurukula system. The Kanishka Mahāvihāra was one of the famous centres of learning like the Nalanda monastery. Interestingly enough, not only Buddhist but also Brahmanical scriptures were taught here. Its alumni Vīradeva was honoured by the Pāla king Devapāla. He was elected as the president of Nalanda Mahāvihāra. This shows the high status enjoyed by the Kanishka Mahāvihāra in India's academic and religious world.

At least, three scripts and three types of languages were in use in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. At the beginning of the period under survey, Greek, Pahlavi (middle Persian) and Gupta Brahmi characters were in use. Later on Greek script fell into disuse and post-Gupta-Brahmi and its offshoot the Śaradā script began to be used by the people of this area. Among the languages prevalent here, we can refer to a form of Prakrit heavily influenced by Sanskrit and enriched by loan words from Iranian, Pehlavi (or Middle Persian) and Turkish languages. Due to the patronage by Hindu Shahi, Sanskrit became in the later phase of our period, the medium of instruction. With the assertion of the power of Islam, Kufic script and the Arabic language came into use in the areas in question.

The economy of the regions concerned was fairly stable during the period under review. Agriculture and small scale or cottage industries formed its base. Trade was widely practised. Discoveries of coins of other regions in the areas in question and of local coins (like those of Sāmantadeva) in other countries indicate the link of Gandhāra and Kapiśa with international trade and also with the other areas of the Indian sub-continent. The importance of our territories in international trade was realized even by Sultan Mahmud, who tried to resume the trade links between Khurasan and the Indian sub-continent by making peace with Ānandapāla.

Different religious beliefs were practiced in the areas during the period concerned. We may refer to Buddhism, Brahmanism with its different sects (Saivism, Vaishnavism, and cults of Sūrya, Devī, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya), Jainism and Iranian sun-worship, and fire-cult. However, during the period under survey, Buddhism gradually declined here and Brahmanism re-emerged as the dominant religion. During the last phase of our period Islam became well-known in these territories.

The art and architecture of the period under survey were mainly affiliated to religion. Initially the themes were mainly Buddhist. But later, Brahmanical sects began to dominate the themes of art. The religious architecture has been divided into two groups, *viz.*, (1) the structural temples and (2) rock-cut sanctuaries belonging to both Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. The Buddhist stupas and monasteries,

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belonging to the first of the above two groups, retained plan and type of the earlier period. The monastic complex of Fondukistan shows its indebtedness to the architectural plan indicated by the Buddhist institution at Takht-i-Bahi. The central courtyard was adorned with a stupa in the middle and the cloistures were arranged on the inner side of the perimeter. The roof of the cloistures was arranged in a semi-circular arch over each shrine. The structural temple belonging to the Brahmanical group shows the evolution of a temple building style resembling the Nāgara variety of North-India, with square sanctum, small porch, and tapering śikhara. Later on, the architectural style was further developed, as is exemplified by the Bilot group. The Khair Khaneh group represents another variety of temple architecture.

All these stupas and monasteries and temples were adorned with a number of terracotta, clay and stone sculptures and minor architectural decorations. The stone sculptures reveal a style which absorbed elements from Gupta and Iranian and Kāśmīrī styles. Out of these absorption, two local schools appeared in Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Stone sculptures of Kapiśa, though disproportionate and heavy, preserved much of the classical features of Gandhāra style. To it were added elements of Gupta and Kāśmīra styles. The Śiva head from Gardez, reveals some of the stylistic features discussed above (Chapter on Art).

The local school of Gandhāra shows stunted disproportionate treatment of the figures created by its sculptors. The school also absorbed Gupta elements (like smooth treatment of body, *etc.*,) and also some of the features of art of central Asia and Kāśmīra. The British Museum pieces discussed above, illustrate this point (Chapter on Art).

The terracotta and clay sculptures preserve much of the classical features which absorbed Gupta and Central Asian elements. This is true also of Fondukistan terracotta sculptures, even though they betray some sort of mannarism in style. The Iranian (Central Asian) influence in Fondukistan is evident in the dress worn by several figures and in certain stylistic details. This tendency for inter-mixing of the styles is further developed in Bamian.

Terracotta sculptures of Gandhāra illustrate the fusion of Gandhāra and Kāśmīra styles. Three heads, illustrated by Barrett, show overwhelming influence of Kāśmīra.

Bronze sculptures show intermingling of Gandhāra and Kāśmīra styles. "Two wooden sculptures shows depiction of south Indian themes with the help of Byzantian and Nestorian styles."

The style of painting is only known from few fragments found at Hadda. However, more well preserved painting are found at nearby localities like Bamian, Fondukistan, Kakrak and Dukter-i-Noshirvan, reveal a distinct style in which

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Indian and Iranian stylistic features predominate. Interestingly enough Hsüan-tsang refer to painted walls of a monastery of Kapiśa. Unfortunately no remnants of painting has been reported from Gandhāra.

The inhabitants of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, no doubt, followed to a some extent the pattern of life known in several other parts of the Indian subcontinent. Nevertheless, they developed, as discussed in earlier chapters, certain distinctive features, enriching the panorama of the history of the Indian subcontinent. Topographically, Kapiśa and Gandhāra, were the veritable meeting grounds of Indian and "occidental" cultures. During our period they played well the role which topography assigned to them.

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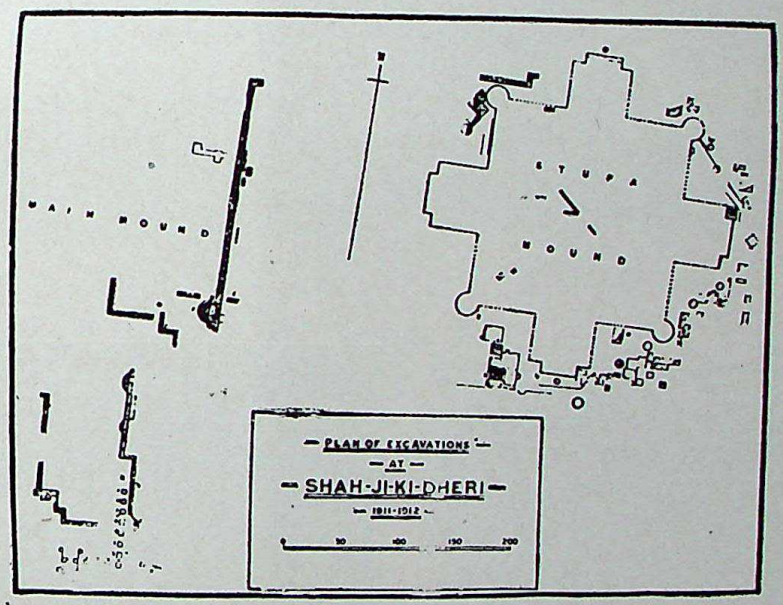

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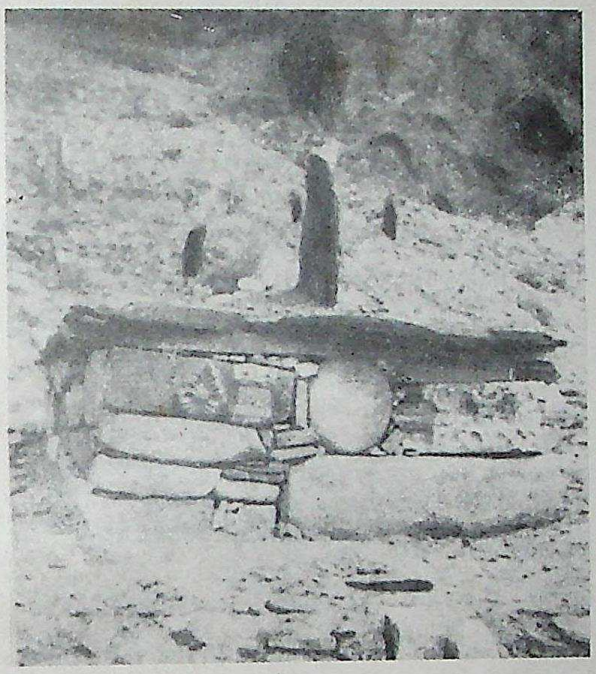

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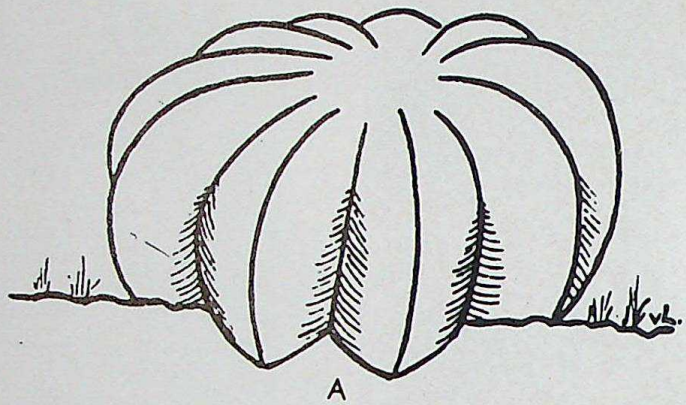

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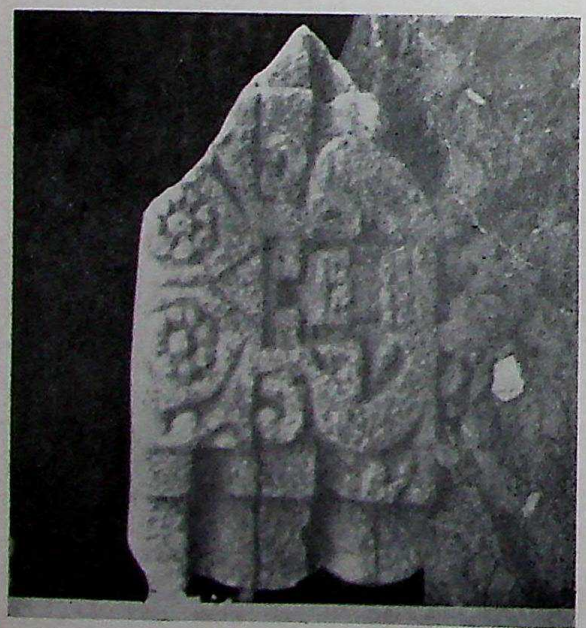

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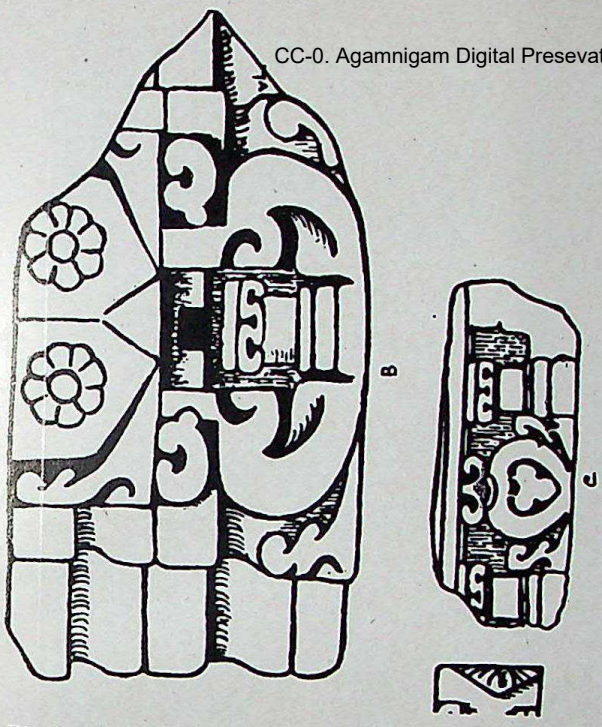

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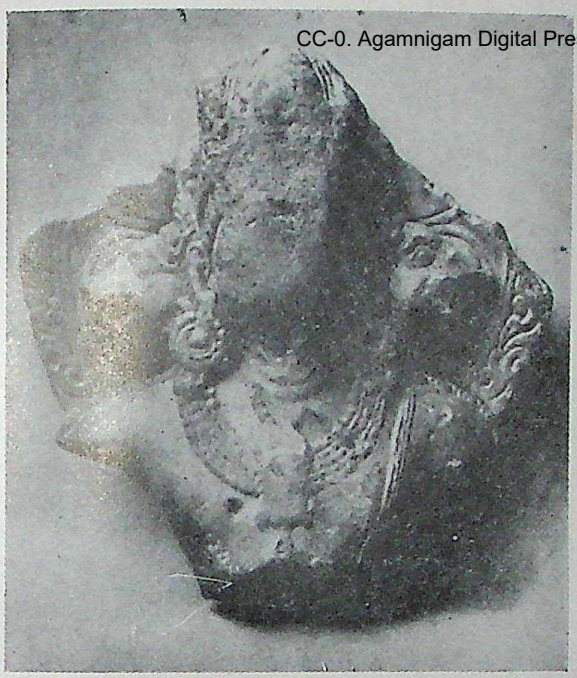

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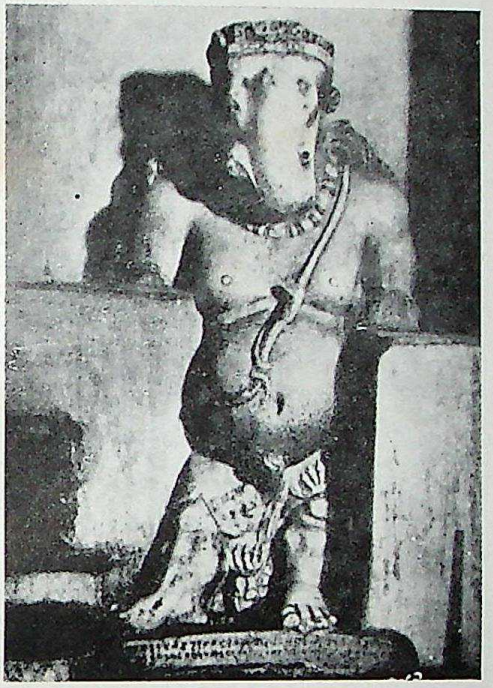

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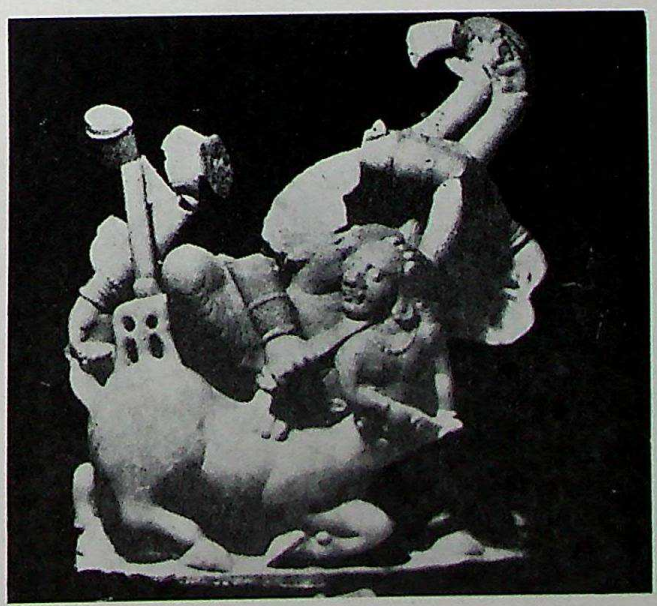

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